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ABSTRACT

A study of the adjustment of migrant American Samoan families in five gateway cities (Honolulu, San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle) was done with the objectives of learning about the transition experiences of the families, gaining information about the human services provided in these cities, and providing background cultural information about American Samoans. Two out of three Samoans migrated because of overcrowding, lack of economic and educational opportunities, and changing life styles in American Samoa, and it was estimated that 115,000 Samoans would reside in the U.S. by 1980. Informal interviews of 85 families revealed basic adjustment problems in employment, education, interaction with the new community, heavy reliance on public assistance, and display of antisocial behavior. The families themselves identified their major problems as economics, education, health care, family issues, and legal matters. Recommendations were made that Samoans take more responsibility for their own acclimation and adjustment: community and government groups provide more assistance in educational and vocational training: access to health facilities, parental education, and family planning be improved: and communication and research be continued in concert with the American Samoan Government. (JD)

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AMERICAN SAMOAN FAMILIES IN TRANSITION

by

BETTY OAKEY

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ABOUT

SAMOAN

AMERICANS between two worlds...

Part of the effort of the

AMERICAN SAMOAN FAMILIES
IN TRANSITION PROJECT

directed by

BETTY H. OAKEY

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All names and places are fictitious in order to protect the identity of the families interviewed.

3 SEP 2 1980

AMERICAN SAMOAN FAMILIES IN TRANSITION

A REPORT

Betty H. Oakey
Project Director

with the assistance of

Pat Luce/Aoelua - Director of the National Office of Samoan Affairs, Inc. San Francisco, California and the California, Washington State Coordinator

Foisaga Eteuati Shon - Research Assistant, Honolulu, Hawaii

Vaiao Alailima - Hawaii Coordinator

and 20 Samoan Interviewers from five Gateway Cities

AMERICAN SAMOAN FAMILIES IN TRANSITION

A series of interviews that enabled Samoans to record the experiences of eighty-five American Samoan families beginning their residence on the mainland.

Project Director ..... Betty H. Oakey

Editor ..... Kathryn Hughes

Secretaries ..... Lucy H. Stober
Leslie McKeel

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Special thanks to my husband, Joe Oakey, for his patience and encouragement.

B.H.O.

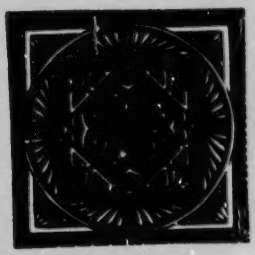
P.S. Apologies for the possible different spellings of some Samoan words. In a few instances there were three opinions about a particular word.

GLOSSARY OF SOME COMMON SAMOAN WORDS

afakasi	not a full blood
aitu	ghost, demon
'aīga	family
alofa	love, gift
'ava or kava	ceremonial drink made from root of pepper plant
fa'afafine	effeminate man
fa'apapalagi	Western ways
fa'aSamoa	the Samoan way of life
Faifeau	a minister, servant of God
fau'ifale	household
fale	house
faleo'o	resting or small house, originally used for storing overripe coconuts
faletele	big house
umu or umukuka	cookhouse
ietoga	fine mat
lavalava	material wrapped around hips/skirtlike

GLOSSARY (continued)

mago	fleshy yellow-red fruit
Matai	Chief(s) Titled head of Family or Village
nu'u	village
paopao	canoe
papālagi or palagi	"heaven breaker" Samoan term for European or Caucasians
laufala	pandanus plant the leaves of which are used for weaving mats and baskets
siva	to dance (v.) a Samoan dance (n.)
Talofa	greeting - "Hello with love"
siapo	tapa cloth made from mulberry bark
Tofa Soifua	"Farewell, long life" a term of respect



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FOREWORD

This study was undertaken as a result of Federal Government interest in updating information about experiences of American Samoan Families in the United States. The request for a proposal was issued in 1976 by the HEW Office of Child Development, now known as the Administration for Children Youth and Families, Research Division.

The grant was awarded in 1977 to Dr. Betty H. Oakey, a principal investigator at Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. At the time, Dr. Oakey was beginning an Adult Education assignment for the American Samoan Community College in Pago Pago, American Samoa. She had just completed five years on a staff development project for adult education for HEW Region IX, which included American Samoa, Guam, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Hawaii, Arizona, California and Nevada.

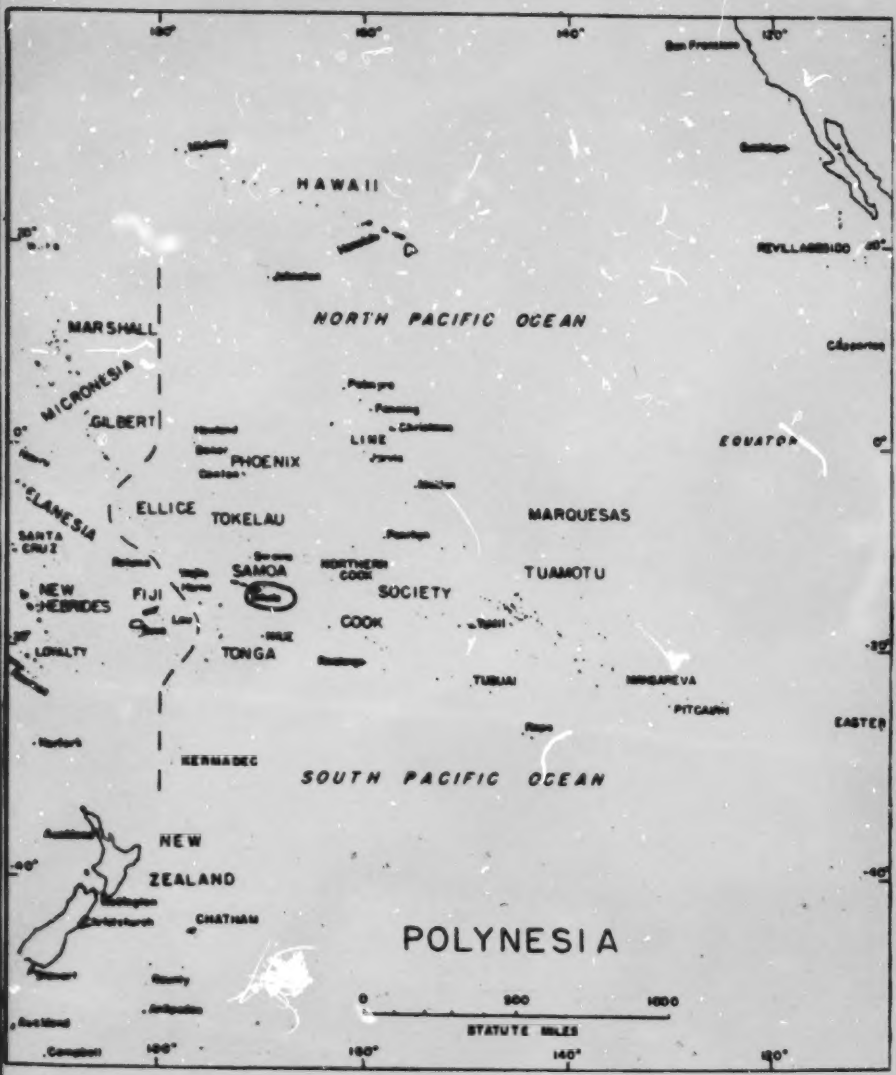
Since 1976 Dr. Oakey had also worked with the National Office of Samoan Affairs in San Francisco (OSA), a Samoan organization serving as liaison between local agencies and the Samoan Community, and with the Hawaii State Immigration Service Center on Manpower and Full Employment, which works with the Honolulu Samoan Community. The Governors' Offices of American Samoa, Hawaii, California and Washington State, representing the states of the five Gateway Cities,* offered cooperation and interest in dealing with the findings of the report.

*The five Gateway Cities are:
Honolulu, Los Angeles, San Francisco,
San Diego and Seattle.

In writing this final report it is the intent of the author to provide a usable document for the Samoan community, as well as a reference document for human service agencies. Eighty-five household interviews were completed. Such a great amount of material was collected that some of it will be dealt with in another volume. The information in this booklet is intended to provide an accurate descriptive picture of current experiences of a sampling of American Samoan families who have migrated to the United States during the period 1975 to 1979. The report will also describe responses of some of the public, social, health, educational, and legal agencies used by Samoans.

Betty H. Oakey
Project Director

San Francisco, California
September 1980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MICRONESIA
GILBERT
PHOENIX
LINE
EQUATOR
ELLICE
TOKELAU
MARQUESAS
SANTA CRUZ
SAMOA
NORTHERN COOK
TUAMOTU
NEW HEBRIDES
FIJI
SOCIETY
COOK
LOYALTY
TONGA
TUBUAI
MANGAREVA
PITCAIRN
EASTER
KERMADEC
SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN
NEW ZEALAND
CHATHAM
POLYNESIA
0
500
1000
STATUTE MILES

PART I

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND ON AMERICAN SAMOA

a realization

You!

A tornado that vacuumed away my traditions
In a conniving and scheming way.
My simplicity and natural environment--

Gone.

And what did you reconstruct with?
Pollution, inflation, democracy and an energy crisis.

You!

An invader, an intruder
Brought in your Zeniths, Westinghouses, Remingtons,
Kenmores, Fords, etc., etc...

You!

Who think yourself our teacher with your new methods,
Leave us and be gone.

For you,
Do not have to fear the darkness and the shame of a
Lost heritage.

---Rosalie Wright
Samoana High School

BACKGROUND

Samoans, relatively tall, solid brown-skinned people of Western Polynesian ancestry, a category shared with native people of Hawaii, New Zealand, Tonga, Niue, Tokelau and to some extent with Fijians; used to open air fales, warm waters, plentiful food and fellowship have now become a disillusioned migrant group attempting to acclimate to their new environment.

Samoans in the United States will be counted as a separate ethnic group for the first time in the 1980 census. At that time their population is expected to number about 115,000 people, more than four times the number of Samoans in American Samoa. It is estimated that the greatest concentration of the Samoan population could be in Honolulu with 15,000 people; Los Angeles area, 45,000; in San Diego, 30,000; in San Francisco, 12,000; and in Seattle, 13,000. Samoan families are also increasing in Florida, Kansas, Missouri, New York, Oregon, Utah, and Washington, D.C., in part due to military, church or college assignments.

As others writing about Samoa have indicated, Samoans, like most migrant groups, come to improve their educational and economic opportunities. However, Samoans arrive with so little preparation, no marketable skills, and such weak English language capability that almost 75% receive some sort of welfare assistance in order to survive. With families averaging seven children plus grandparents and various

relatives, they quickly run into difficulty locating adequate housing and observing housing regulations. Their pride and need to survive allows them to accept welfare because "being taken care of by one's Matai and village is part of the culture." When the family support system is not there they seek outside help. Some requirements of the culture work against acceptance of the Western ways (Fa'apapalagi). Some of these cultural influences will be described in the household interviews that follow.

In 1977 the Health, Education and Welfare survey done by the consulting firm of Marshal, Kaplan, Gans and Kahn cited the following figures from the Office of Asian American Affairs, Asian American Field Study of 1973:

- Fifty per cent of the Samoan students K-12 encountered substantial difficulty in school - usually language problems.
- One hundred per cent of the Samoan children in Los Angeles were in the lowest education performance of any ethnic group.
- Sixty-one per cent of Samoan workers were unemployed for 3 years or more.
- Five per cent of the welfare recipients in Hawaii are Samoan yet they represented less than 1% of the population.

BACKGROUND

- Seven per cent of the public housing in Hawaii was occupied by American Samoans.
- Twenty-four per cent of all convicted felons in Hawaii were Samoans.(Misleading due to inaccurate census figures.)
- Fifty per cent of the Samoan population in the U.S. did not receive dental care.
- Seventy per cent of the Samaons in this study had never sought social service assistance because they did not know where to go.

Our conclusion in 1980 substantiates these figures and provides some descriptions of what families experience behind the statistics.

LANGUAGE

Language has been spoken of as a major barrier to Samoan adjustment on the mainland yet English has been taught in the Samoan schools for eighty years and English is used in business in Samoa with Americans. Almost all Samoans 40 years old or younger are bilingual but not necessarily fluent in English. When they arrive on the mainland they find their English skills so weak that, combined with their lack of confidence, this deficiency becomes a barrier to jobs and general adjustment.

The Samoan language is not an easy language for others to learn. Communications are difficult because few Samoan migrants speak English well and few English speakers know Samoan.

BACKGROUND

Holmes, in Samoan Village (1974) describes the language of Samoa as a dialect of the linguistic family known as Austronesian (formerly called Malayo-Polynesian). It is also a part of the subgroup Samoic, which includes languages spoken in the Tokelau and Ellice Islands, Eastern Futuna, and Tikopia. Roger Green (1966:34) indicated Samoan was one of the earlier established languages of Polynesia although "of more recent development than Fijian or Tongan." It has been referred to as the "Italian of the Pacific." Samoan has only nine consonants and the five basic vowels used by English-speakers. It has a smaller vocabulary than English and cannot accomodate new technological terms beyond its basic stock of morphemes.

There is also a special set of honorific terms known as the "Chief's language." These polite and respectful words replace ordinary words when addressing someone of a chief's rank.

In interviewing the Samoan families one important cultural consideration was to have interviewers capable of using the "chief's language." However, it was also true in Hawaii, that the young Samoan graduate students were able to establish rapport with the families even though they acknowledged their own weakness in not knowing the honorific terms.

BACKGROUND

There is a great difference between the people of American and Western Samoa. In the Samoas the climate is similar but the governments and the economic situation are quite different. New Zealand governed Western Samoa 1900-1970. The American Navy governed American Samoa from 1900-1950 with American Governors until 1978. Some have called Western Samoa "disadvantaged," but we have learned in America that poverty does not necessarily mean a person is disadvantaged. As a matter of fact, Western Samoans appear to be resourceful, highly motivated, and creative. It is apparent that the New Zealand and British/English education gave a selected group of Western Samoans a more thorough grasp of English and of business skills than the American system provided American Samoans.

SAMOAN EXTENDED FAMILY

To understand the American Samoan family one must accept the cultural definition which views the extended family as one household. This includes spouses and their biological and/or adopted children, grandparents and often in-laws with their children.

In Samoa as recently as 1980 the important units of social organization are the households (lotoifale), the extended family ('āiga), and the village (nu'u). A household may be composed of ten to fifteen people or more.

BACKGROUND

In charge of each household is a titled person (male or female) known as Matai. This person is reponsible for the behavior and welfare of those who live within this unit. Each household maintains a village plot upon which are located sleeping houses (fale o'o) and a great house (fale tele). There will also be a cookhouse (umukuka) and a privy (fale'ese or falevao). In addition there may now be found a European style house, either as part of the fale, or standing nearby. Such a house may be equipped with plumbing, air conditioning and windows or may be in various stages of construction, possibly reflecting a shortage of materials or funds. In any event it will probably have a refrigerator and a color television set.

Those who live with the Matai usually include the immediate family (spouse and offspring) plus an assortment of collateral relatives such as elderly parents, grandchildren, aunts and uncles, brothers and sisters of the Matai, and their families. The household may also include people formally or informally adopted by the Matai. This composition is fluid because family members have a wide choice of households so mobility is common. People are usually welcome in any household where they have blood or marriage ties.

CHANGING ROLE OF THE MATAI

Once the Matai's responsibilites included guarding and overseeing every aspect of the lives of family members - promoting family unity and prestige, looking after family

property, settling disputes, supporting the church activities, serving as political representative to the village council of chiefs; in every sense a Matai was a person of great importance.

Margaret Mead noted a statement by a young chief in 1928 in which he lamented the difficulties of his role, to plan for the families in his care, provide for food and clothing, settle disputes, arrange marriages, be careful of his own conduct, even "to walk gravely with measured step."

Today, much of the power as well as the responsibility of that position has been reduced. More and more the American court system is used to settle disputes, particularly relating to landholdings, but also to titles. Where once the fruits of family labor were shared equally among all members of the household, regardless of the amount of contribution, now family members are beginning to hold back their cash earnings for their own immediate family. As a consequence, the Matai is not as able to accumulate a surplus to meet crisis or social obligations.

This opportunity to become an independent earner has great appeal, although some still acknowledge their obligations to the Matai. Income sharing continues into this transition period to the new homeland, but the Matai no longer has the power of the decision maker. In fact, in the absence of

the strength of the Matai leadership there appears to be a void. No one in the family has taken the responsiblity for leadership and for planning. The only one in the family who will take the reponsibility for leadership is the eldest son. (Taula'ela'e - no. 1 young man in the family Matai - Taile'ale'a.)

MOTIVATION FOR WORK

In Samoa agricultural work is demanding in strength but not necessarily in endurance. While land may need to be cleared with axes and bush knives and heavy logs moved, Lowell Holmes reported that the average family could provide itself with ample food for a week with only six or eight hours total labor in a seven day period. Some additional time may have been spent on repairing the houses, pig fences or fishing. He went on to say that Samoans had not experienced the oppressive situation of the American or European eight hour day. Samoans farmed in the cool or the morning, napped in the heat of the day, fished when the tide was right and cared for buildings when necessary. Holmes observed that they worked with speed and enormous energy on difficult tasks and when finished felt no guilt in sitting idle and unproductive.

Observation of the 70's illustrate some changes, particularly on Tutuila, the largest of the American Samoan group of islands. Agriculture is no longer the prime occupation.

BACKGROUND

Villages maintain minimal coconut and banana plantations for immediate consumption. Copra is no longer a cash crop in American Samoa. Taro and even some bananas are now imported from Western Samoa and elsewhere along with mangos and papaya which were once in great supply.

Samoans aspire to government jobs where they can be paid for an eight-hour day, although that does not necessarily mean they work an eight hour day. Samoans have learned about Western concepts of "work" and their definition is not what was once characterized as the "Protestant work ethic of productivity and accountability." Dedication, commitment, and loyalty to a job, are not frequently observed. Examination of the background and current status of American Samoa may provide some explanations.

BACKGROUND

AMERICAN SAMOA ITSELF

American Samoa lies almost due South of the Hawaiian Islands about 2200 miles and fourteen degrees south of the equator in the South Pacific ocean. It is part of an archipelago of volcanic islands, lushly covered with tropical vegetation, warmed by westerly breezes, and has the finest deep water harbor in the South Pacific.

Samoans lived in relative isolation until eighteenth century explorers brought missionaries and artifacts of the western world. The Samoan people were well fed, healthy people of Western Polynesian stock. Ship captains stopping at the island of Tutuila described the people as pleasant and lively and noted it was an "attractive place."

Except for one battle over a misunderstanding with a French crew on May 3, 1768, in which the captain and a number of Frenchmen were killed, the Samoan people were friendly and welcomed the white strangers whom they called "papalagi" (pronounced as if it had an "n", papa lang i). Translated, this means "one who breaks the heavens" because the first white men may have appeared on a sailing ship with sails aloft following a thunder and lightning storm. The sailors gave canned food to the Samoan people who came out to the boats in their canoes (paopao's).

After the explorers established the "Navigator Islands" as a useful place to stop for fresh

water and supplies, the nineteenth century Western Powers began intense arguments over control. Finally, Germany and the United States made an arbitrary division at one hundred seventy one degrees West Longitude. Germany then administered so called "Western Samoa," the larger end of the island chain, while the United States acquired "Eastern Samoa" with Tutuila and its deep water port, and several smaller islands. In 1900 President McKinley instructed the Navy to set up a coaling station and to become responsible for the five islands and their people.

Over the next few years treaties were negotiated with the Chief's of Tutuila, and later with the Chief's of the Manua Group of islands. This then made American Samoa a Territory of the United States. (Germany lost Western Samoa to Great Britain after WW I, and New Zealand became the administrator.) Western Samoa became independent in 1962.

As a Territory, the American Samoan people are recognized as U.S. Nationals and they may become U.S. citizens when they move to the mainland and meet the residency requirements. Many are ambivalent about this because some believe it means giving up some title and land rights in Samoa.

The United States government reportedly encouraged American Samoa to work toward becoming an independent government and in 1977 the Territory elected their first Governor. However, since 1951, when the Department of Interior took over from the Navy, the U.S.

BACKGROUND

Government had appointed governors and provided funds for all fiscal needs. While professing to help Samoa become economically independent, a cash economy was introduced, an educational system was built upon an urban U.S. model, an unrealistic public works program was begun, and a portion of almost every government assistance program currently available was allocated to this territory regardless of relevance.

ANYTOWN USA

Samoa was encouraged with U.S dollars to expand the docks to handle ever increasing containerized imports. Except for the two tuna canneries, there are few exports. As a result Samoa is totally dependent upon the U.S. The major source of income for Samoan families is to work for the Samoan Government. There has been little progress in the development of small business, industry or manufacturing. Local transportation is provided by family buses, called "'aiga" buses (pronounced i inga), which are independently run by individual families. They provide access to most of the island although they compete with hundreds of large and small cars, vans and trucks that clog the less than fifty miles of paved road. It has been said that there are more fatalities per mile driven than in any other state.

BACKGROUND

Technology has brought cars, televisions, refrigerators, air conditioners, washing machines, typewriters, and computers to Samoa. However, lack of maintenance, tropical climate, abuse, and sometimes built-in obsolescence produces frequent malfunctions. Samoans have not developed skills necessary to repair or maintain these twentieth century artifacts.

The L.B. Johnson Tropical Medical Center, a centralized service for all, barely manages to provide adequate service with stateside volunteer doctors and Samoan trained nurses. The one native Samoan physician departed for a military commission in 1977. There were no others to replace him. There have been few other Samoans studying or practicing medicine or pursuing careers in science at the present time, as far as is known.

Along with Western attributes have come blue denim jackets and leather shoes, a hedonistic society, a parody on the Hollywood strip. There are nylon carpets and upholstered furniture, and miles of concrete sidewalks where trails were once sufficient. Inefficient street lamps in remote areas burn by day and shut out the moon and stars at night, and asphalt roads contribute to flooding and speeding. The 31,000 inhabitants consume more beer, liquor, and soft drinks than those living in many mainland states. The telephone system is undependable and the water supply is often poluted. There is, to date,

no public housing construction to improve the substandard living conditions even by tropical island standards. Federal dollars are lavished upon this tiny island but basic needs have not been met.

EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SAMOA

The educational system, in the opinion of the interviewers and project director, is woefully inadequate. There is limited leadership, lack of clear policies and lack of accountability. Although English has been taught for eighty years, only those who attended the private Catholic or Mormon schools or who have received part of their education in Western Samoa under the New Zealand/British system are able to use English effectively. Almost all Samoans are bilingual to some degree, but even people thirty years old or younger, who have had the opportunity to graduate from the local high schools, do not use English as comfortably as some Western Samoan adults who went to the British controlled schools.

Worse than the language deficiency, is the fact that few Samoans graduate with any marketable skills, either for Samoa or for the mainland. The vocational center is practically non-existent in spite of hundreds of thousands of dollars allocated for programs. These two factors, lack of marketable skills and lack of language skills - Samoan and English, in the opinion of the participants in this study, are two

of the primary reasons why Samoans have difficulty adjusting to their new home. The two year Community College is troubled and weak in carrying out its mission. Community College graduates in 1978 were reading at seventh grade level. (Presidents report 1978). The adult education program which should play a major role in preparing those who wish to migrate, is subject to political manuvering by the College and the Government and has never been able to become a strong influence.

To emphasize concern about education in Samoa, a portion of the report on a high school survey done in Pago Pago in 1976 follows. It describes in detail the root of one aspect of the problem under consideration. The young people who are identified in the transition are experiencing great turmoil. Part of the problem is due to what might be described as "ordinary adolescent communication gaps" with their parents. Another part deals with the Samoan educational system which is lacking in its ability to prepare young people to be productive, independent persons. In this survey few youth have realistic goals or any goals at all as far as becoming wage earners.

BACKGROUND - SURVEY

FIGURE 1

HIGH SCHOOL SURVEY/PAGO PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA
1976

Conducted by Sanele Tuiteleleapaga

A. Senior Class 1976 448
Sample of 80% of the class 359

202 males (56%)
157 females (44%)

B. Age Distribution

3 students were 15 years of age or 1% of the sample

34 students were 16 years of age or 9% of the sample

149 students were 17 years of age or 42% of the sample

123 students were 18 years of age or 34% of the sample

40 students were 19 years of age or 11% of the sample

6 students were 20 years of age or 2% of the sample

4 students were 21 years of age or 1% of the sample

BACKGROUND - SURVEY

C. Place of Birth

Approximately three quarters of the sample of the 1976 class were born in American Samoa. Almost one quarter were born in Western Samoa. About thirty youngsters were born in the United States. Only one was born in Tonga.

D. Experience outside of American Samoa

About 55% of the sample had never lived outside of American Samoa. Of the 45% who answered they had lived elsewhere, over half had lived in Western Samoa.

Career Preparation and Preference

Approximately half of the group sampled had visited Government office and private industries as a part of field trips arranged under the auspices of Youth Government Week program. The other half of the students did not make any visits during their four years of high school.

When asked to rate jobs in order of preference, the most "popular" job chosen was clerical (59) with teaching (31) and nursing (28) ranking second and third choices.

The choice of medicine as a profession was sixth on the list with only twelve votes, but it was equal to the military preference although 52 students in the

sample actually did go into the service, but no such numbers continued into medical or scientific fields.

A total of 57 students indicated no job preference. Added to the 89 students graduating but not in the sample, the total students with no indication of a job goal were 146 students out of 448 or about one third of the graduating class.

Employment by the American Samoan Government was considered the first choice of 78% of the students. Five percent of the sample felt they might work in the private sector and 16% did not know where they would begin working.

Work Experience

One hundred sixty students in the sample had some work experience during their four years. The quality of those experiences was not described nor were competancies assessed. Fifty-six percent of the students had no work experience.

One hundred thirty-four students in the sample left for educational purposes.

Seventy of these had financial assistance.

BACKGROUND - SURVEY

Fifty-two left to join the services (Army 29, Navy 22, and Air Force 1)

Forty-seven left to find work on the mainland

Thirty left to visit family with work plans undecided

Three left for personal reason or religious purposes

Ninety-three of the sample were unaccounted for

Of the 359 students in the sample, only 41 students or 11% felt they would choose the career of their parents. Their reasons indicated they were not interested in repeating the life of their fathers; they felt they had a better education and would be able to get better jobs at higher salaries; they wanted to choose their own job not have it chosen for them; they expressed greater interest in white collar jobs rather than manual labor and there was an expressed dislike for the trades and menial manual labor.

Sanele Tuiteleleapaga, the Director of the Office of Youth Development at the time of this survey, indicated these statistics were for planning purposes. "The survey format was constructed to obtain what the young graduates wanted for their future."

BACKGROUND - SURVEY

The survey has been presented in part because of its relevance to our questions about why migrant Samoan families came to America with so little preparation for the labor market and so little motivation for seeking employment.

From the information in this survey there were several points to consider:

- o the attitude in the family has changed for the worse in regard to the necessity for meaningful work.

- o the academic and vocational preparation of high school youth has not provided adequate motivation for realistic employment nor for higher educational attainment.

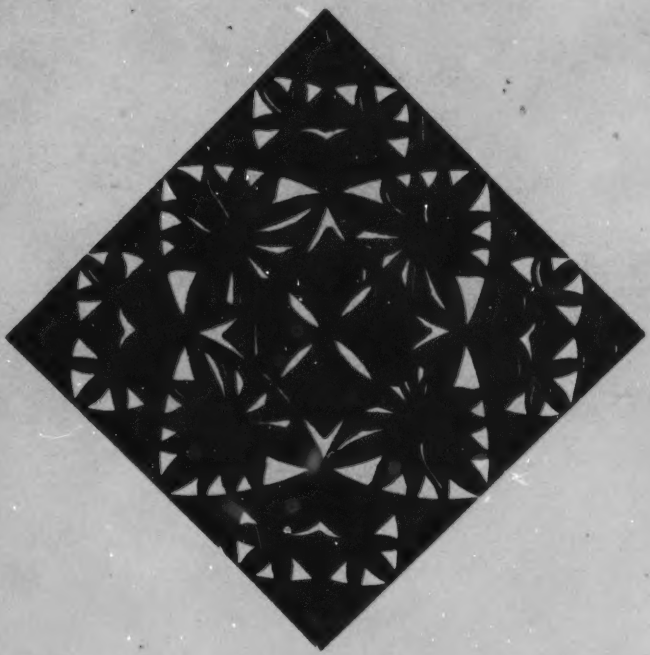
- o there is a limited understanding of necessary competencies for the so called white collar level of employment possibly because there are so few good role models.

- o farming, fishing, repairs; work with one's hands has lost the dignity and respect these tasks once held.

- o job opportunities in Samoa are few in number and those who would seek jobs on the mainland are not prepared with skills needed, with ability to cope with the competition, nor with appreciation for such factors as reliability, initiative, or follow through.

BACKGROUND - SURVEY

These findings dramatically reinforce a recommendation to the American Samoan Government to give priority to the seriousness of the migration problem; to establish and actively support in all Samoan organizations and churches a "preparedness program" for those who will at some time in their lives undertake living away from Samoa (two out of every three persons are leaving Samoa each year).



BACKGROUND

THE CULTURE

The hierarchy of the culture needs to be taken into account in considering the role Samoa plays in the lives of the people who have migrated to the U.S. For centuries the class structure and the leadership has been built around the Chiefs ("Matai".) The Matai decided almost everything for everybody. (See Albert Wendt's book Pouliuli.) Wendt, one of the few published Samoan writers exposes this Matai role in a dramatic, symbolic and uncompromising manner -- so much so, that it was believed to have been banned by certain groups in parts of Western Samoa. According to Wendt, the Matai must see that the people are cared for.

Matai can be male or female, and their primary responsibility is to see that the necessities of life for their family members are met. The Matai, sometimes with lesser chiefs and elders, used to assign village tasks in farming, fishing, home and child care, perform all ceremonies and settle all disputes. Only ministers had a higher level of respect and power.

Part of the power of the Matai came from the "right," by cultural definition, to require their people to contribute all their earnings, cash or otherwise, in order to share care equally. This system is beginning to change, for obvious reasons. Young people, in particular, want to make more decisions about their own income and

p. 26 - non-reproducible photo

family. The large families (Samoans are among the most prolific people in the world) are making increasing demands for hard goods as well as food, education, transportation. The Matai is sometimes unable to adequately provide for the family because of the pressures of the "heavy load" controlling all the family matters. The Matai have become victims of the modern man's diseases with ulcers, hypertension, heart attacks and alcoholism, to name a few.

The culture and the churches are relatively peaceful with each other and for this reason the churches have remained moderately strong. Religion still plays an important part in almost every home. Free-will offerings are made to support the church from the family resources -labor and cash. There are many religions represented: the original London Missionary Society (LMS), Congregational Churches, Catholic and Mormon Churches. There are many church buildings, most all are ornate. A great deal of money and effort goes into decor and maintenance.

As homes became overcrowded and land boundaries began to shrink, it was not surprising to read that two out of every three Samoans leave for the mainland.

Some say they will be forever tied to the homeland. In sentimental terms that is true, but in economic terms the "divorce" has taken place. A few who cannot cope

with the pressures and competition on the mainland do return to Samoa. Some who went into the military at an early age have returned to Samoa to retire and they express concern about what is happening. At the moment all opportunities are limited in Samoa and those who have lived in the Western world have become accustomed to a different style of life.

The answer to what the future holds for Samoa itself is elusive. For her people adopting a new life style, perhaps motivation to work, and a desire for self-improvement could become key forces. Certainly focusing on English language development and marketable skills could mark a turning point in the quality of life for these families. There is a need for "wisdom never before seen," as David Nevin wrote in his conclusion to The American Touch in Micronesia (1977), or else, as he says, "the bills for the last thirty years will be presented for payment." And we know who will pay the debt.

SAMOA IN CHANGE

It has been stated that most anthropologists who have worked in Samoa were impressed with what they called "extraordinary cultural conservatism." As late as the 1960's various researchers felt Samoa had resisted the devastating effects observed in other Pacific island communities. Keesing felt Samoan conservatism resulted from their size, isolation, climate, political rivalry

of the World Powers and elements of disunity inherent in the native polity (1934). This writer is more inclined toward Holmes' theory which placed the strength of the culture within the culture itself particularly in regard to attitudes, family relations, government and the supernatural. He pointed out that in most situations where two cultures meet, cultural change will usually be the greatest in those societies wherein the traditional system rewards the fewest number of people. There is less tendency on the part of the majority of people to cling to a system which rewards only a few when a new, more egalitarian system presents itself. Samoans on the other hand can say "In our system everyone can trace a kinship relationship to ... a High Chief." Moreover, the concept of reciprocity practiced in Samoa has built in rewards for each individual.

Samoan religion was not a part of the social/political system so it was possible to accept other religions without affecting the status or authority of chiefs. The Christian influences probably brought about the most change according to Holmes, but it had little affect upon the social structure since the culture had less invested in religious sanctions. He went on to describe Samoa as ruled by the will of men, not by the will of gods or men acting for gods. Samoan chiefs never claimed divine rights so the loss of traditional dieties or religious concepts did not alter their roles and status within the society.

BACKGROUND

At the time Holmes and Keesing were studying and writing about Samoa they were not arguing that changes did not take place, but rather that the changes were less disruptive and all encompassing than in other parts of Polynesia.

SAMOA IN CHANGE

Keesing outlined cultural change in Samoa roughly into three periods:

1) 1830 - 1869 A period of Samoan - missionary - trader balance. Samoans traded for items wanted and accepted a "Superior deity".

2) 1870 - 1934 Political and judicial changes, alien authority with guns, warships, (cash and liquor).

3) 1934 - 1961 Influence by "educational" opportunities through the development of schools and intermarriages.

Holmes then added the next era:

4) 1961 - 1974 Deliberate attempt by the U.S. Congress to "mold the cultural and economic future..." Education industrial development and tourism encouraged by an American governor with congressional support.

On his visit in 1962, Holmes made the following observations: The United States had tripled its appropriations to twenty-two million dollars... a new cluster of high school buildings in Pago Pago made possible universal secondary education... educational television was introduced into 26 elementary schools... tourism was somewhat limited due to one small government operated hotel... most villages still had antiquated water systems and no sewer system... medical facilities were the same as in 1954... prosperity from new construction and the tuna cannery brought more cash, more liquor, beer and soft drink consumption...bush stores sold European tinned food... cars were numerous... girls were trying to wear makeup, European hairstyles, even pants... children were learning how to twist as well as siva... stereo phonographs were not uncommon. Even in isolated areas, like Manua, he continued, changes in family structure were evident with lessening of the economic and political influence of the Matai and opportunity for individuals to control their own affairs.

To continue this historic outline 1973 - 1980 this writer would add comparative data:

The first visits in 1973-74 appeared very much as Holmes had described them with the exception of federal allocations tripling until in 1980 they approximated 75 million

dollars for a population projected at about 31,000. Four high schools were in the public system including one on Manua. In 1977 there were approximately 500 graduates. The educational television instruction introduced by Governor H. Rex Lee in 1964 was a mixed blessing. At first it caught people's attention but weak teacher training, conflicts in philosophical approaches to methodology, and relatively low quality programming quickly brought about apathy.

Of perhaps equal impact, at far less cost, was the beginning of the rental of KRON-TV news and programs from San Francisco in 1977. These tapes, arriving a week late, produced several hours of prime time news, commercials, and general programs. From these color TV pictures, American Samoans received a vivid impression of American life. Soon underarm deodorant, fast foods, and lawn conditioner were in demand. Store shelves reflected the American supermarket as did the clothing stores with Levis, leather jackets, and corduroy pants. Not just stereo's were evident but the latest in washing machines, freezers, refrigerators, TV's, automobiles, vans and pick-up trucks.

Tourism was still crippled but not because of the hotel facilities, which were adequate, but because of control by airlines as to the frequency (or infrequency) of their flights. Although flights both ways were crowded and reservations had to be made months in advance, the airline claimed

they were losing money on this route. Another airlines took over in 1979 and perhaps there has been an improvement. At least there are more flights.

The largest employer is the Government of American Samoa; educators, medical personnel, public works employees, and clerical workers. The two largest commercial enterprises are still Van Camp and Starkist Seafood Canneries. There is a small dairy products plant but to date no new industries have moved into the industrial site set aside for them. In fact, the Bulova watch factory left Samoa reportedly because they could not find and keep skilled workers.

Some of these changes are due to the new cash economy which puts an airline ticket within reach of almost anyone who wants to leave. Legislators and other government workers are often criticized for leaving the island so frequently and they in turn are critical of those who move to the mainland permanently. Currently the Samoan government supports a liasion office in Honolulu but does not assist the Office of Samoan Affairs in California.

The transition to a cash economy has brought materialistic values to many. Now people would rather work for wages and buy imported goods than cultivate plantations and raise their own food. Even the crafts have all but been abandoned. The all important fine mat, symbol of wealth and status must be imported and purchased from Western

BACKGROUND

Samoa along with carved kava bowls and tapa cloth which must be brought from Tonga.

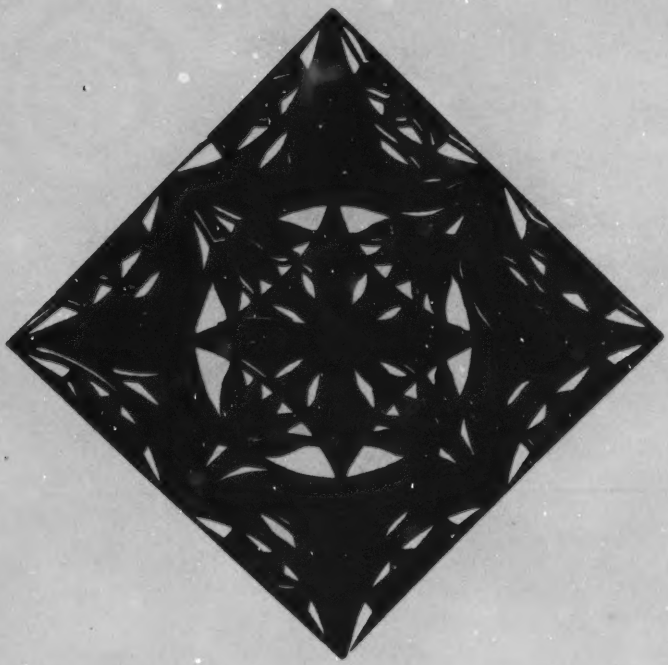
SAMOAN ELDERLY - ANOTHER CONFLICT

Background on Samoa would be incomplete without including a few words about the elderly and their special problems. In Samoa, old age is considered to begin at about fifty. Before the advent of Western influences, to be an elder was considered to be in "the best time of life." There was respect from the whole community, few demands on one's time and energy, life's taboos were lifted and one could relax allowing the children and relatives to provide support. Once Samoans were reported to believe that extreme longevity was the result of working some every day but the younger generation does not take that idea seriously.

The traditional house was, up until a few years ago, an open design. Older people could greet friends and relatives as they went by and thereby kept themselves informed as to what was going on around them. Since sex did not determine work activities for the elderly, one would find older people helping each other in all tasks with no shame or role problems.

As children departed for the military service, for college or to be with other relatives, more and more older Samoans

became isolated, and lonely. This loss of family may have been in part reflected in the increase in the number and severity of illnesses of the elderly in Samoa in the U.S., as the last interview illustrates.



GATEWAY CITIES

AND EXPERIENCES

GATEWAY CITIES

Where are the Samoans who leave Samoa? This was the first question in designing the proposal. Five major cities in the West were identified as areas where Samoan families were settling. Honolulu in 1970 had a Samoan population of less than 7,000. In 1979 the estimate had risen to 26,000. Los Angeles and Orange County estimated 54,000. San Franciso Bay Ara 20,500. San Diego County 14,400 and Seattle at 8,000. See Figure 4.

Because Samoans as American Nationals are free to travel on U.S. passports, they are not "counted" either as they leave Samoa or as they enter other states. When they apply for public assistance often the intake workers do not know how to identify them and sometimes the Samoans themselves do not indicate they are Samoan.

Until the 1980 census it was believed that there were few Samoans so they had not been counted as a separate cateory. They were classified in various ways as Pacific Islanders, Asian, Asian-other, minority-other, Non-white other, other, not applicable, and unknown. These figures are the best current estimates of the Office of Samoan Affairs and the National Council of Chiefs. By 1983 a more accurate count will be available from the U.S. Census Bureau.

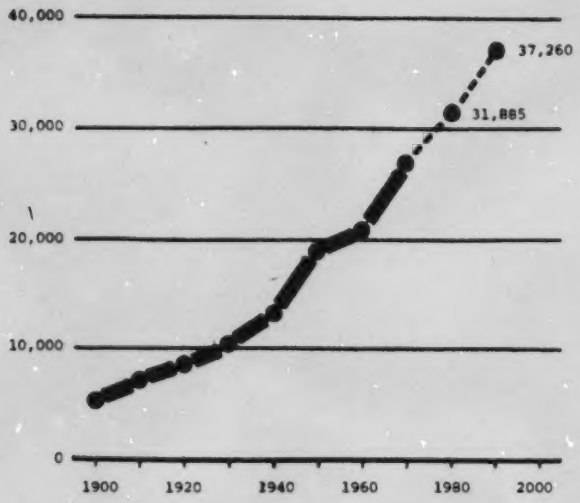
GATEWAY CITIES

Figure 2 provides an interesting description of the actual historical population growth in American Samoa since 1900. The dashed portion of the line indicates the estimated growth of the population based on the assumption of constant migration and slightly declining fertility over the projected time period to 1990. The population projection was prepared by the Health Planning Office with sources from "Population Statistics of American Samoa" by Chai Bin Park and the 1974 Population Census.

Honolulu has used a name analysis of school population which does not take into account all variables, but does give a somewhat better appraisal of the number of Samoans in Hawaii.

FIGURE 2

Population Trend: American Samoa
1900 - 1970, projected to 1990



SOURCE POPULATION PROJECTIONS: 1970 - 1990 FROM PARK, CHAI BIN, PROJ. #IV, 1972.

FIGURE 3

STATISTICAL DATA, MARCH 1979: SAMOAN COMMUNITIES IN CALIFORNIA, HAWAII AND WASHINGTON STATE COMPILED BY THE OFFICE OF SAMOAN AFFAIRS, INC. *

TOTAL POPULATION		70% Employable	60% of Unemployment
California	89,100	62,370	37,422
Hawaii	26,000	18,200	10,920
Washington	8,000	5,600	3,360

Of the 40% Samoan population represented in the state labor force only .1% is represented at the professional level. The remaining employed Samoan population is represented in the unskilled/blue collar labor force.

At a Samoan Leadership Conference in Carson, California, March 11, 1978, the Samoan presentation concluded with the statement, "a most highly specialized area of concern is the acccess of employment opportunities and development of employable skills." The Office of Samoan Affairs and the Churches have attempted to facilitate matches between job opportunity and people but it has not been an easy task. They encounter the same problems of needing to overcome the false pride and hesitancy with the language in order to locate candidates.

*taken from the OSA Report on Samoan Population in California, August 1977.

CITIES

Five cities became the gateways to mainland settlement in part due to their geographic location and in part due to the economics of employment. Location of family members and weather also played a role. While many Samoans settled in Honolulu between 1900 and 1980, a large number either continued on to California or moved after a few years. The largest group going directly to California were military families and they settled primarily in San Diego, Los Angeles, or San Francisco. The many relatives and the pleasant temperatures helped Samoans feel at home. In addition to military service there was also a large market for unskilled labor in the fields and factories of southern California.

The group moving to San Francisco did so primarily because of family ties. This was also true of Seattle. Samoan families who had tried the Northwest found comfortable living quarters, less competition, and strong church support. Seattle is believed to be the smallest community but it is growing.

Honolulu is obvious as the first stopping point on the flight from Pago Pago. In the early 1900's Samoans emmigrated here to fulfill specific job needs in the sugar and plantation industries. A large number of well situated relatives makes Honolulu an attractive and easy place to settle.

There was some evidence in the later 70's that families are moving to Salt Lake City,

GATEWAY CITIES

Utah, to St. Louis, Missouri, and to Kansas City, Kansas. Most of these moves to the interior are related to military moves and college scholarships.

CALIFORNIA

It is estimated there are approximately 89,000 Samoans in California. The Office of Samoan Affairs ((OSA) in the August 1977 report on the Samoan population in California said "the Samoan Community in America has made almost no progress during the last twenty-five years." This report indicated Samoans have been subject to all the ills of the U.S. including "poverty, disintegrating family and cultural ties, rising crime rates, especially among adolescent school drop outs, discrimination in employment and language barriers."

California, as the second major entrance point for Samoans, does not in official records have a means of identifying them as separate from "others." It was a contention of the OSA that this lack of visibility contributes to the problem. OSA feels "Samoans present particular and accute difficulties" as a new migrant population, but because they are not identified they are unknown as a group.

The Samoan community leaders of San Diego County, Los Angeles/Orange County and the San Francisco Bay Area conducted a survey

in 1977, (Figure 4) at the time of the survey, family size was estimated at an average of seven people.(This report 1979, indicated a slight increase to eight.) The needs assessment of this OSA survey described the need to overcome the language barrier as the highest priority. Below, in order of importance are listed identified needs the Office of Samoan Affairs has compiled:

1. Employment and training
2. Educational opportunity
3. Social services
4. Economic development
5. Health care
6. Orientation programs and information about resources
7. Cultural understanding of the United States
8. Recognition as Samoan
9. Housing
10. Improvement of Communications

GATEWAY CITIES

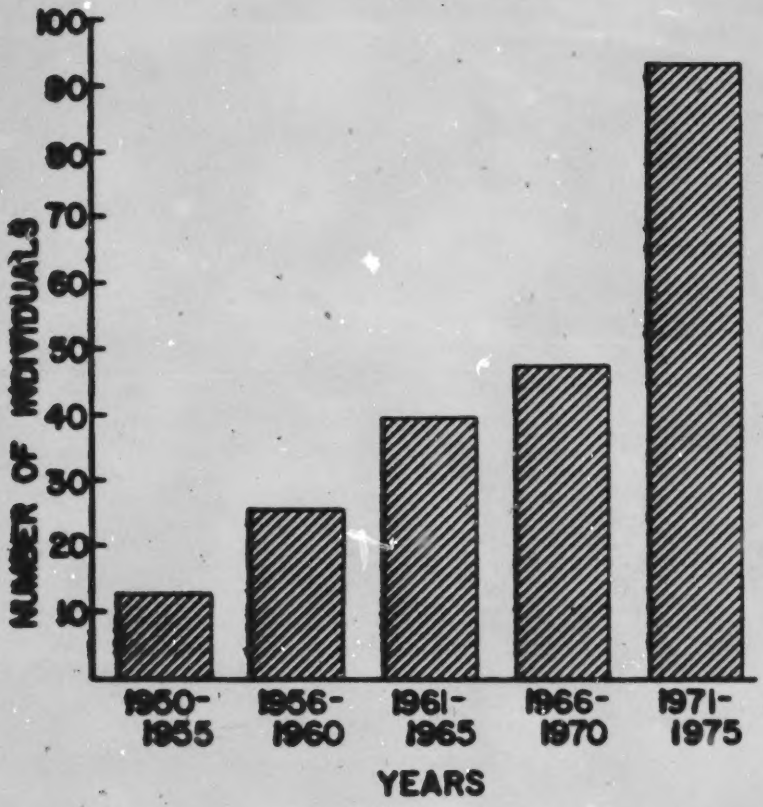
FIGURE 4

SAMOAN POPULATION IN CALIFORNIA AS
SURVEYED BY THE OFFICE OF SAMOAN AFFAIRS, INC.
AUGUST 1977

San Diego County	National City	5,000
	Oceanside/Vista	5,000
	San Diego City	2,000
	N. San Diego	1,500
	E. San Diego	900
		14,400
Los Angeles	Carson	11,000
	Compton	9,600
	Los Angeles	8,000
	Wilmington	7,400
	Torrance	2,000
	Long Beach	1,200
		39,200
Orange County		15,000
San Francisco Bay Area	San Francisco	8,500
	Santa Clara/ San Jose	5,000
	San Mateo	4,500
	East Bay	2,500
		20,500
Total in California		89,100

(Oxnard, Monterey, Santa Rosa not included)

GATEWAY CITIES - HAWAII
FIGURE 5



Time of migration to Hawaii for adults by five year intervals 1950-1975.

GATEWAY CITIES

HONOLULU

The Hawaii Population Reports #6 & #11, published September 1976 and January 1979 show the ethnic structures in Hawaii 1969-1971. In 1970, 9% of the state population was foreign born. A breakdown of the eight major groups show: Chinese 4.2%, Filipino 7.9%, Hawaiian 18.3%, Japanese 26.9%, Korean .9%, Puerto Rican .6%, and Samoan .9%. Immigration to Hawaii from Samoa has increased by a magnitude of ten in the last thirty years with the largest number of people arriving in the last decade. (Figure 2)

Some other interesting data, for purposes of comparison, show that in Hawaii the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Puerto Rican groups have a larger percentage of older people in their population count than do Samoans. Hawaiian and Samoans show a larger number of younger people. 46% of the Samoan population was believed to be under 15 (Hawaii Health Surveillance Program 1977). The median age in Hawaii for all groups in 1970 was 28.3 years. Compared to the other ethnic groups, Puerto Ricans and Samoans have the lowest educational attainment. The state average number of persons per household in a sample of over 201,000 households for all groups was 3.44, except for Hawaiian and Samoan groups who averaged ten persons per household.

GATEWAY CITIES

The total labor force of 16 years of age and older in 1977 was 269,764. Of this number, 42% were male and 31% were female. Hawaiian and Samoan employment figures show that between 23% and 30% of these people were employed in service and construction. Few were in agriculture or professional work. As a base indicator of economic status, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean annual salaries were considerably above the state median of $11,650 and the national median of $9,867. The salaries of other ethnic groups, Hawaiian, Filipino, Puerto Rican, and Samoan were well below the state norm.

Hawaii has a mobile population, and Samoans fit into that picture as well. Residential patterns were continually shifting. 18% of the population lived in a different house in the prior year. 6% were residents of a different state or Nation in the previous 12 months. Samoans represent a small percentage of the Hawaii population. Unfortunately, they were to gain an unsavory reputation due to the alleged percentage of convicted felonies in proportion to this small population. The record shows few Samoans involved in major Hawaiian crime. (Univ.HI. 1974)

The social services to Samoans in Hawaii provided the best documentation because of the State concern with the varieties of migrant and immigrant peoples. Samoans made extensive use of Public Health Services, Family Planning, Maternal and Child Health Services, Community Service programs, special services for the

disadvantaged and for the aging, public assistance, social services and maintenance. A few Samoans were enrolled in Adult Education classes and vocational educational programs, but on site observation did not substantiate any great degree of participation.

Few Samoans used the drug abuse programs, mental health centers, drop out prevention, college upward bound program assistance or Head Start. All Honolulu Public agencies contacted responded with helpful information. These agencies included: the Governors Office, Hawaii Housing Authority, Hawaii State Library, Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development, Research and Statistics Offices, Department of Health, Department of Social Services and Housing, Immigrant Services Center, Commission on Manpower and Full Employment, Department of Education, Honolulu Police Department Office of the District Attorney and Employment Development Department and CTA.

GATEWAY CITIES

SEATTLE

The migration of Samoans to Washington state has been a rather recent phenomenon. Until 1970 few Samoans had moved into the state to live other than a few students on scholarship from American Samoa. Since the climate is a more invigorating one in contrast to the tropics, not many Samoans found it comfortable.

Visits and correspondence to the Governor's Office, the Departments of Housing, Social Service and Education did not provide any specific information about Samoans as a special group. The Police Department of Seattle does not "distinguish between persons on the basis of national origin when providing police services." However, one source said Samoans were never a problem in the Seattle area. The Employment Security Department, Research Division also did not keep separate records. It was their impression that there were few Samoans in the Seattle area.

In 1976 the Seattle School District found there were enough identifiable school children of Samoan heritage who were having a difficult time with their studies to employ a part time Samoan counselor who also could bring something of the culture of Samoa to the schools. This has been a highly successful program.

FIGURE 6

HOUSEHOLDS AND AGENCIES INTERVIEWED BY

GATEWAY CITIES

INTERVIEW	HONOLULU	LOS ANGELES	SEATTLE	SAN DIEGO	SAN FRANCISCO	TOTAL
(1) Households	30	26	8	2	19	85
(2) Agencies	6	6	4	4	6	26
(3) Interviewers (Coordinators and research assistant)	3 plus 1 coordinator and 1 research assistant	5	2	3	4 plus 1 coordinator	20

Clarification

1) Some interviewers did not complete household interview assignments. Only those completed were tallied.

2) The agencies interviewed included schools, police, social services and welfare offices, District Attorney, Department of Labor, Employment Development Department, Housing Bureau, Health Department, Immigration.

3) In total, twenty different interviewers participated.

GATEWAY CITIES

The availability of service to Samoans has been documented in a 1979 study of HEW service providers in American Samoa, California and Hawaii by the San Francisco consulting firm of Marshall, Kaplan, Gans and Kahn (MKGK). They sampled 52 agencies in California, 19 in Hawaii, and 7 in American Samoa. All agencies indicated confidence in their ability to inform clients about available service. Some felt their outreach capability was the most important attribute in reaching new comers. However, all estimates about number of Samoans served were "best guesses". California and Hawaii offered special programs for Samoans, primarily English as a Second Language (ESL) and bilingual education programs. Some programs hired a bilingual person as translator and other agencies reorganized their services to out-patient arrangements when they found Samoans did not use inpatient treatment.

Hawaiian agencies tended to have a higher number of Samoan speakers. Over half of the agencies responding felt the language barrier was the greatest single problem. Agencies made some effort to hire Samoans including recruiting Samoan professionals, waiving some job requirements, creating special job categories, including bilingual capability as a criteria, providing educational funds and providing English language tutoring. Some Samoans felt there was more "lip service" except perhaps in the Department of Education. To reach clients, bilingual written materials were distributed and radio and TV announcements were made in Samoan.

In-service training for professionals was limited to in-house capability. No formal in-service training materials were available from any agency, although Hawaii did hold special conferences for dealing with all of their non-English speaking populations. The greatest amount of responsiveness between client and agencies was believed to be in the health and social service fields. The least amount of interaction was in vocational training, child and alcohol abuse agencies and mental health centers.

It was pointed out that it was difficult to serve Samoans. There was often inadequate documentation. For example, birth certificates or immigration records were not available, relationships of household members could not be substantiated, changes in household status were not reported, names and spelling of names changed or were inconsistent.

Agencies reported that their lack of knowledge about Samoan culture was probably the greatest factor in not providing as effective service as there might have been. There are few professional Samoans available at this time. All agencies felt they were understaffed and most administrators did not see improvement in the near future.

Some of the obstacles to service utilization included communications, feelings that the culture was incompatible (with the rules), insufficient or inaccurate information, complicated procedures and forms, distrust

of the worker, pride, transportation problems, and long lines. Many times, the personal information required by agency workers caused Samoans to feel their private lives were being interfered with and regulated by the government agency. Samoan culture could not accept this. Some of the problems will be described in the excerpts from household interviews.

FIGURE 7

AGENCY SERVICES UTILIZED BY
HOUSEHOLDS INTERVIEWED

	# Households Reporting	% of Households Interviewed
HEALTH*	60	70
EDUCATION	80	94
WELFARE Public Assistance SSI	62	73
SOCIAL SERVICES Counseling	63	74
HOUSING AUTHORITY	78	92
EMPLOYMENT Dev. Depts./CETA	75	88
LEGAL**	25	29
CHILD CARE	4	.04

* includes Mental Health, Drug Assistance Center
** includes Police, District Attorney offices

PART 2

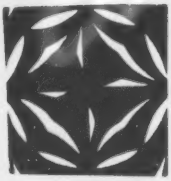
THE REPORT

REPORT

INTRODUCTION

This report was written for people who are going to make decisions about and with Samoan families. It was also written for Samoans to help them gain a better understanding of what is happening to their families as they move from Samoa to live in the United States. The proposal was requested from the Federal Government because of their concern and their desire to have an accurate description of the effect of transition on families.

The planning and interviewing were done by Samoans representing each of the five gateway cities. As issues surfaced, the Samoan community immediately became involved in seeking solutions since they felt ownership in the report and wanted to have a hand in improving the transition experience.



REPORT

OBJECTIVES

The specific objectives were:

1. To engage Samoans in gathering accurate information from the new migrant Samoan families about their transition experience from Samoa to Hawaii and the Mainland.

2. To gain information from some of the human service providers in the Gateway Cities as to their experiences with Samoan migrant families.

3. To provide background information about American Samoa and American Samoans to enable the reader to gain some insight and understanding of the culture and how it affects adjustment to life in a different setting.

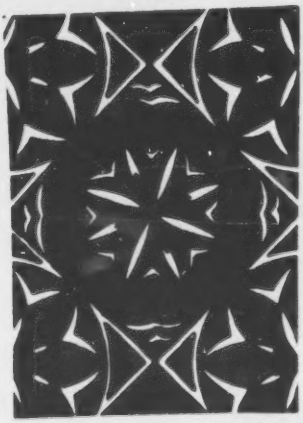
As the project evolved, it was clear that the objectives of the Office of Samoan Affairs (OSA), the best organized of any of the Samoan mainland groups, were compatible with the objectives of the project. When issues began to appear as patterns in the first forty cases, OSA was ready to deal with means for remediation. For example, as the concern for language as a barrier to family adjustment surfaced frequently, a plan was proposed to acquire funding from the California Adult Education Division to develop a means for meeting the needs of strengthening English language and coping skills for an adult education pilot group.

REPORT

Employment opportunities and training of mental health aides were two other critical areas in which OSA was working.

The Samoan project Harbor was started by the OSA, Samoan Chiefs Council, Department of Labor Committee and the Employment Development Department.

Some issues such as child abuse, incest, alcoholism, neglected health and teen-age pregnancies were difficult areas for many people in the Samoan Community to deal with at this time. These problems are illustrated in some of the excerpts from the interviews.



REPORT

METHODS

As with many research strategies, our inquiry was based upon the theoretical perspective of combining quantitative and qualitative research approaches so information acquired from open ended questions would be viewed in the context of the surrounding environment. This procedure for survey research is described in the works of Glazer and Strauss (1967), Campbell and Stanley (1963), Gouldman (1965) and Sieber (1973).

Ishikaw (1978) successfully used the research methodology of Vale (1974) combined with the unconventional survey approach of Myers (1974). He described his interviews as "interactions as in ordinary relationships" (Stebbins 1972). The theory was to build upon open discussions with family members that would allow for the development of trust and confidence on a conversational basis with a mutual exchange.

Since the focus of this kind of approach is upon the human exchange first, and information to be gathered secondly, all would feel comfortable. Observational techniques and interactions between family members would provide unspoken clues to the problems we were seeking to understand.

The interviews took place in the family home over several visits. An informed oral consent procedure clearly protected respondent's rights to privacy or refusal to participate. The interviewers in the planning

stages of constructing the interview instrument agreed that to require signed consent forms would create a great deal of apprehension and would interfere with the opportunity to develop a useful relationship. With limited English language capability, Samoans as a whole are unsure of signing any "papers."

The strategy for data collection as described above was designed to assure the greater possible validity by developing ownership of the effort from participating Samoans from the specific "Gateway Cities" selected for our sample. A number of Samoans expressed considerable reluctance to see more theoretical research done by academic types "on Samoans." This concern was acknowledged and appreciated; so often the research has not shown any benefit for Samoans. The instruments for the data collection were designed, reviewed, and revised by recognized leaders in the Samoan Community.

The initial selection of potential households were obtained from churches, city telephone directories and lists of Samoan children registered at schools or with Social Services. The first 40 pilot interviews only included those who had been in the states for at least two years. Because of the difficulty of locating new migrant families, the sample was expanded to include those who had been here up to five years. The sample was to include families with children in the public school system as part of the target group. The Hawaii committee had an

an efficient network for locating newcomers. California and Washington State relied upon the contacts by the coordinator and the interviewers themselves.

PREPARATIONS OF INTERVIEWERS

There were four major training sessions, three in San Francisco and one in Honolulu. Each session lasted for two days and at least one night for a total of about 80 hours. The discussion included development of the instrument, criteria for selection of families, approaches to be used with a family, use of the token gifts, techniques for eliciting information and expanding conversations, plans for use of an outline as a guide for writing the interview and frequency of visits.

In the eighty-five interviews completed, almost 700 people were included. During the interviewer's orientation, discussions were held describing how initial contacts by the interviewers would elicit a great deal more information than a questionnaire, per se, would provide. The problem of transmitting the information to the project in usable form was reviewed. Offers of a tape recorder and even a dictation system were rejected. In retrospect, it was apparent that while the interviewers were encouraged to augment their own natural and culturally appropriate capability with the use of reasonable data collection outlines which they had approved and, indeed, had helped to develop,

many people felt inhibited when it came to expressing themselves in the written word. The interviewers were not aware of this limitation, nor did the project director recognize it early enough to make changes in the procedure-- even after deadlines passed and the interviewers insisted they would still write up the interviews it was believed they would. It was an example of not being able to accept a limitation and continually expecting it would be overcome.

There was also some speculation that a few interviewers were unable to accept some of the information they received and were therefore unable to transmit it to outsiders. They were exposed to intimate and sensitive information and it would be difficult for anyone to transmit this data in a meaningful way.

The initial orientation workshops provided a great deal of contextual data. This descriptive information, the director's background from years of experience with Samoans combined with her living in Samoa provided a backdrop for authentication and verification of the data collected from the interviewers.

REPORT

The Interviewers

American Samoans at this writing, do not have a complement of university based researchers who can serve as technical assistants. In order to establish this report as one "with Samoans," not "of," or "for," Samoans, it was necessary to draw upon the recognized cultural leaders of the mainland Samoan Community and upon the few graduate students that were to be found at the University of Hawaii Counseling Department and the School of Social Work.

Originally, it was intended to have one Samoan research assistant review all data for validity and integrity and help recognize cultural discrepancies. It was also intended that each of the five "gateway cities" would be represented by two Samoan interviewers each. They were to work together or alone but would provide a support system for each other in reviewing their interviews and preparing their reports.

In fact, instead of ten interviewers, eventually twenty different people participated. Fourteen were unable to complete the number of studies assigned to them for different reasons. Many found the task of writing the study in Samoan and English, or even just in English, too difficult. (This was not true of the graduate students, nor the social

worker). One person was dropped because he was found to be exploiting the people interviewed.

The initial selection of the interviewers was the primary responsibility of the two coordinators (with the final approval of the project director.)

The orientation workshops for the interviewers emphasized the use of one's natural style and when making introductions in Samoan, the necessity of the use of honorific words and appropriate customs so as to show respect to all members of the household.

Of the original ten interviewers selected, only the Hawaii group all completed their assignment. They were graduate students with a graduate social worker coordinator working with them and they were accustomed to extensive written records. Some of them had difficulty with the Samoan translations and the coordinator and research assistant were able to help with this. The Seattle team and the San Diego team did not complete their assignments. At first the problem seemed to be the translation to Samoan, but when that requirement was deleted, it appeared that writing the results of the interviews was the difficulty. This was also true of the Los Angeles and San Francisco groups as well, and they received additional assistance from the coordinator and project director. Replacement interviewers were located among some of the younger, concerned working people; for example, a graduate

student in Los Angeles, a youth worker and student in San Francisco did some of the interviews.

In all, eighty-five studies were completed and validated.

Collecting Information

Even with a defined plan for selection of the interviewers, there were limitations to the collection process and to the validity of some of the interviews. The plan to write simultaneous Samoan translations, so all results would also be in Samoan, was finally deleted at the request of the mainland Samoan committee.

It is unfortunately true that while many Samoans have excellent memories, not all Samoans are able to write the appropriate form of the Samoan language required. Also not all Samoans agree as to which forms of the language to use. This problem in translation and spelling in Samoan continued to be a problem throughout all of the stateside work. Brochures, newsletters, and all documents written in Samoan and translated by one person, are often criticized by another person because of differences of opinion about usage of form or spelling of certain words.

REPORT

The benefits of Samoans doing the job far outweighed the drawbacks and the data is more complete than any a "palagi" (white person or foreigner) could have achieved. Samoan families felt more comfortable with people who could speak Samoan and who knew the customs.

INTERVIEWER TECHNIQUE

The interview instrument was based upon a questionnaire developed at about the same time by Marshall, Kaplan, Gans & Kahn, a San Francisco consulting firm doing a survey for HEW Region IX office on Samoan use of services. Their items were intentionally incorporated and a few additional items were included to see if it would be possible to validate, to some degree, the information both surveys were collecting. After reviewing the Kaplan data from Samoa and observing the questionnaires being completed in San Francisco, it would be fair to say the structured, closed questionnaire had the same problems as the open-ended approach. Interviewer's bias came through in spite of controls. There is no such thing as absolute interviewer consistency or objectivity. At least the open-ended interview, which was a relatively long interpersonal experience, was as Ishikawa stressed, "a pleasant and possibly therapeutic experience for the respondents." Samoans could relate to "conversations with an interested Samoan stranger" and a great deal of empathy was felt.

Like the interview process, the design for initial contacts allowed great variation in interviewer style. On the first visit to a home, a small gift of cash not to exceed $10 was given to the head of the household. Often the interviewer was invited to eat with the family. Each interviewer was initially assigned four interviews and paid $100 when the written report was submitted. Upon completion of the first four pilot interviews, each interviewer was offered the opportunity to do six additional ones. Forty per cent of the original group continued into the second year.

Data was theoretically collected during the entire interview in order to use whatever information was offered as an entree to other experiences. For example, when inquiring about the village of birth the family might reminisce about Samoa's Medical Center and draw comparisons with experiences they were now having with American hospital care.

Interviewers received a great deal of criticism regarding the poor quality of education in Samoa. This sometimes led the conversation to concerns about their youngsters lack of preparedness to cope with the present school situations on the mainland. Education was one of the main issues so this was an area easily explored.

It was also interesting to note there was an obvious protective curtain at times in spite of the rapport most interviewers were able to establish. This "curtain" prevented in depth exploration of some subjects, such as child abuse, incest, rape, wife beating, convicted felonies, handicapped children or adults. Part of the reason for this was because in Samoan culture such subjects are not acceptable for conversation with strangers. Another part of the reason was rejection of the ideas themselves as intolerable and beneath the dignity of acknowledging them.

It was important that the interviewers did not take notes during the interviews because Samoans would be self conscious and inhibited by such foreign behavior. This was not a problem because many Samoans have an excellent memory and their ability to retain information for oral history reporting was excellent. As mentioned before, however, they were not as adept at writing English or Samoan. An outline was provided for use after the interview although only a few used it.

One interviewer, a graduate social work student, reported that all clients wanted to participate. The observation was made that collecting data in a person's natural style made all parties more comfortable and the resulting information complete and accurate. Such sampling has been described as being "purposive with flexibility." The willingness

of the family to participate precludes any sense of intrusion. Hopefully, this final report will provide a feeling for the flow of life events and situations of newcomers to the Samoan communities on the mainland. The data, therefore, is valid as an interpretation from a Samoan about a Samoan and for Samoans and others concerned with migrant problems.

Data Plan and Analysis

This project undertook the problem of locating accurate descriptive information about the transition experience of Samoan migrants from Samoa to the United States. The Office of Samoan Affairs, both board and associates, played a major role from the beginning in the success of the undertaking. In addition, representatives from the Hawaiian Samoan Community provided access to some of the more recent migrant families since such a large number begin their experience in Hawaii first.

The analysis of the quantitative data was intended to provide the Samoan commmunity and those who work with Samoan people an approximation of the frequency of certain items in this sample of households. For example, it is now possible to have a better understanding of the major occupational groups Samoans are involved in; something about income levels, educational background, size of family and other such factors.

REPORT

Quantitative data from each interview was placed on a coded key sort card. A frequency distribution analysis was made of 10 categories. These included household members' perceptions of problems figure 11; occupations figure 22; income sources figure 23; approximate monthly income figure 24; employment status 31; educational attainment figure 32; current educational status figure 33; ages in the household figure 26, relationships figure 30; number of people in household figure 25.

Since a household includes the extended family, information covers all people living under one roof in an interdependent relationship.

REPORT

EXAMPLE

(This information was provided to serve as a frame of reference for the interviewers. It was not taken into the house during the interview time.)

FINAL DISCUSSION GUIDE

(not for public dissemination - for interviewer use only)

Sample Discussion and Response Guide Development By the Samoan Committee

American Samoan Families Project

Honolulu, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angles, San Diego

Discussion and Response Guide (For Visitor Only

1. Family group individual information - not necessarily first item discussed.

2. When and why did they come to this city - attitude - lived elsewhere - when - where.

   Primary language in the home - fluency of English of each.

REPORT

3. Describe home, furnishings, car(s), appearances (personal) apparent values.

4. Who works, where at, at what? Who retired from what services? Who is unable to find work, why? What work done by people in this family before, (skills)?

5. Who goes to school? (Include pre-school, adult education, vocational school or colleges). What is their experience? Anyone in any special programs, any drop-outs/age - why?

6. Who cares for younger children? If childcare is used, what is their experience - cost?

7. Has there been need for any legal assistance? Describe.

8. Range of income, sources. (Include extended family help here, states or Samoa, Welfare, Social Security, Military).

9. Use of income - any problems. Do others help - who? Are food stamps used?

10. Is there any religious affiliation - is this important - how do we know?

REPORT - GUIDE

11. Does the family participate in "fa'a Samoa," or are they members of other community organizations, (name)?

12. Has any member used social services? - Describe.

13. Has anyone needed medical attention? Where did they go and what was the experience? Any insurance coverage? Do children to age 12 get immunizations?

14. Who has gone to the dentist in the last year? What was their experience? (How about use of other specialists like eye doctor, obstetrician, etc.)

15. Are there any special health needs for handicapped individuals, drinking or drug problems, nutrition or weight control, heart disease, stomach or kidney disorders, pre-natal care, family planning or psychological or counseling help?

16. What do older people in the family do? (65+) What do unemployed people do?

17. Are there issues for this family, or in the community they would like to comment about? (Example: opportunities in job training, employment, housing, health; in behavioral problems such as drinking, fighting, drugs, gambling, wife or child abuse; criminal behavior or problems related

to children's care, runaways, school problems, delinquency, parent/child communications lack, cultural conflicts; coping with Western culture, laws, prejudice, discrimination, immigration or disappointment with self or group.)

18. Which of these are the most serious (first, second, third) - which least - what are someways to resolve the problems?

19. What has been the happiest or most pleasant experience - and the worst?

20. What has been experience with installment buying, loans, budgeting?

21. What community resources are known, which are used?

22. Is the family value system evident? (Example: pride, appearance, care.)

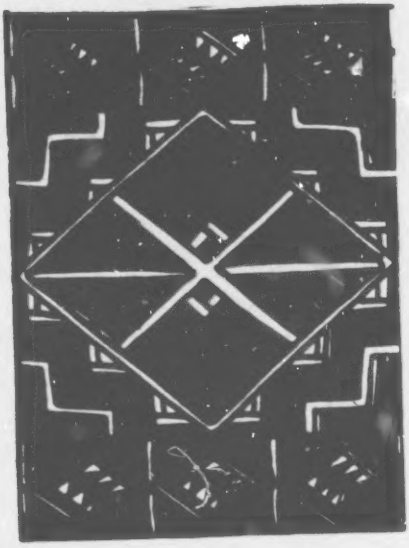
23. What Samoan culture values are helpful? (Example: church, roles, ties, organizations, business, social, leadership.)

VISITORS PERSONAL COMMENTS:

REPORT

MODIFIED HOUSEHOLD PROFILE FORM AND CODING INSTRUCTION

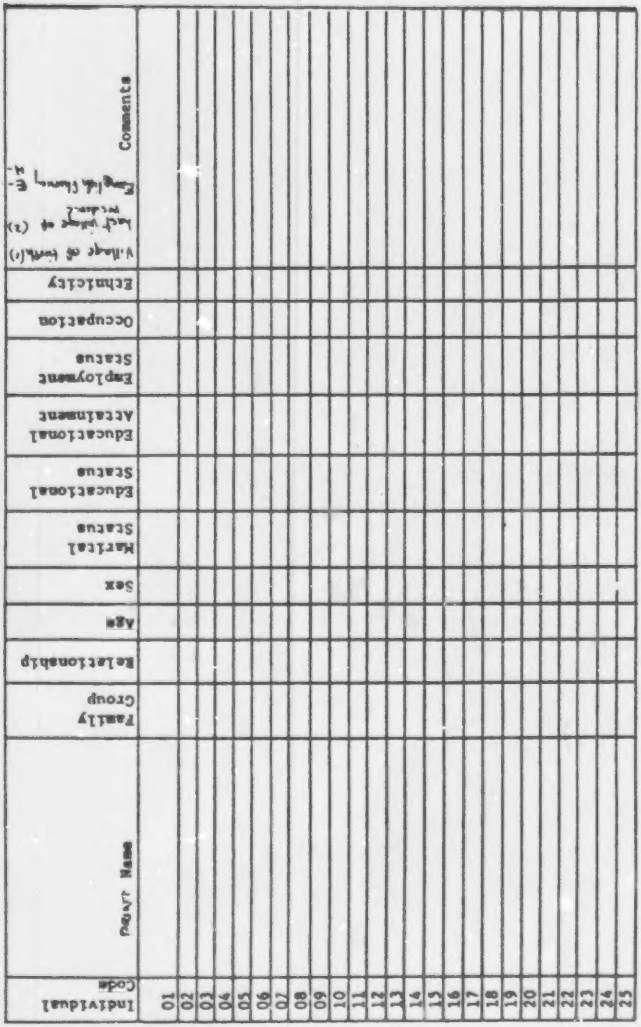
Developed with Marshal, Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn



REPORT

FIGURE 8

Household Report Form



HOUSEHOLD PROFILE CODING INSTRUCTIONS

Family Group

1 = Respondent's Family
2 = Second Family
3 = Third Family
4 = Fourth Family

Relationship

1 = Respondent/Family Head
2 = Spouse
3 = Child
4 = Parent
5 = Son/Daughter-in-Law
6 = Father/Mother-in-Law
7 = Sibling
8 = Brother/Sister-in Law
9 = Uncle/Aunt
10 = Cousin
11 = Nephew/Niece
12 = Grandchild
13 = Grandparent
14 = Other Relative (Specify in "Comments" Column)
15 = No Relation

Age

Code actual age (2 digits)

Sex

1 = Male
2 = Female

Marital Status

1 = Single, never married
2 = Married
3 = Widowed
4 = Divorced
5 = Separated

Educational Status

1 = Full-time student
2 = Part-time student
3 = Not a student

Educational Attainment

1 = No formal education
2 = Faifeau school
3 = Some grade school
4 = Completed grade school
5 = Some high school
6 = High school diploma/GED
7 = Trade school
8 = Some college
9 = College degree
10 = Graduate School

Employment Status

1 = Employed full-time
2 = Employed part-time
3 = Unemployed, looking for work
4 = Unemployed, not looking for work
5 = Retired/disabled

Occupation

1 = Professional
2 = Managerial
3 = Salesworkers
4 = Clerical, etc.
5 = Craftsmen, etc.
6 = Operatives, etc.
7 = Transport Operatives
8 = Laborers
9 = Service Workers
10 = Other (Specify in "Comments" Column)

Ethnicity

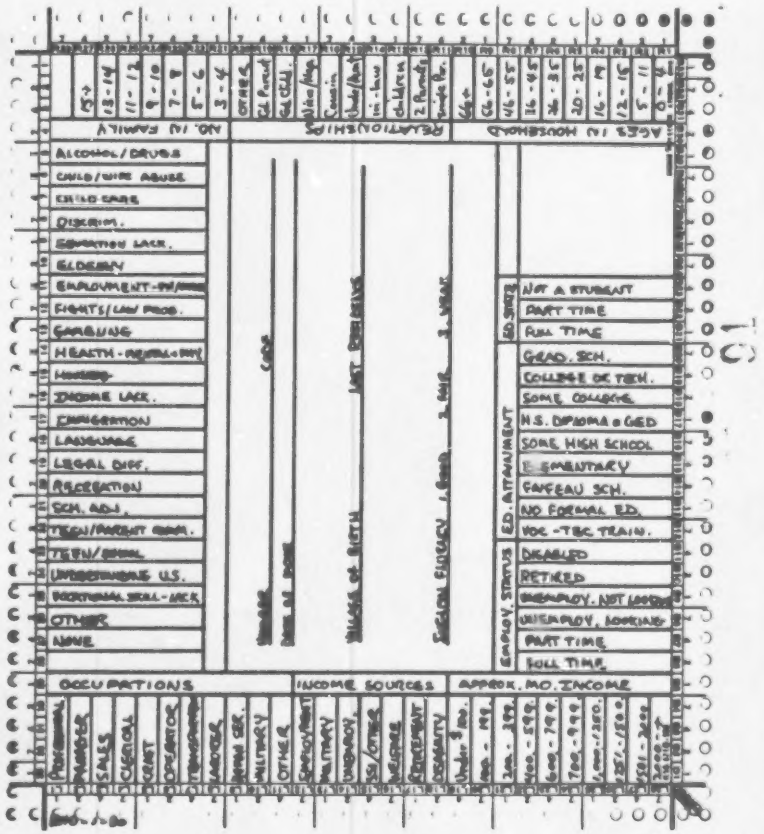
1 = Samoan
2 = Asian/Pacific Islander
3 = Palagi/Caucasian
4 = Black
5 = Mexican
6 = Other (Specify in "Comments" Column)

Note: If you are unsure about how to code a specific item, leave it blank and record all pertinent information in the "Comments" column.

REPORT

FIGURE 10

CUE SORT MODEL



EXCERPTS FROM HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEWS

THE FAMILIES

FAMILY

INTRODUCTION TO THE EXCERPTS

The following excerpts were chosen for this report because they illustrate something of the complexity and range of problems experienced by our sample of families in transition from American Samoa to the mainland communities.

These vignettes of peoples, lives are the perceptions of given situations as told for the most part in Samoan to the Samoan interviewer whose job it was then to translate it to English for this report. No attempt was made to document these descriptions, except the issues they describe are substantiated by the data in Figure 1 which is a summary of the problems identified in the order of frequency mentioned.

Excerpts from interview narratives such as these can only give a picture of one moment in a situation that may have taken years to develop; for that reason it is important not to attempt to make broad generalizations about any one particular situation . Rather, our purpose for including them was to provide opportunity for the reader to gain some insight into the problems occuring as described by the families themselves.

The excerpts selected from the 85 interviews include issues related to unemployment and underemployment, health, lack of understanding U.S. culture, housing, the language barrier, school problems, alcohol and drug abuse, wife

and child abuse. No interview can be used to illustrate any one problem because the problems described are interrelated; one kind of problem may cause another which compounds the causal factor. Problems related to one's physical well-being have led to emotional problems which then prevent an individual from being able to cope with other physical realities. For example, inadequate housing can produce family tensions and conflicts which in turn uses time and energy needed to deal with the schools or health clinics, or job hunting.

Samoans prefer to speak of moving from the Territory of American Samoa to Hawaii or the Mainland as a "migration" because they consider themselves Americans in contrast to the immigration of "foreigners". This report was titled American Samoan Families in Transition because this transition period between homes is more like a transfer, a change or modification in their lifestyle.

This shift requires a reshaping of behaviors, a restructuring of living arrangement, adaptations to a lot of new systems, adjustment to climate and geographic differences, accomodation to other family situations. Some of these changes are gradual, some are sudden and total changes. For some the move was catastrophic and for some the break with the past caused discontinuity.

Regardless of how this time is described, it has not been an easy one for any member of the

family. In the following three interviews basically written by the Samoan interviewer, we become aware of economic pressures, and expressed desire for educational and employment opportunities and a hope for a better life as the prime motivating factors for leaving Samoa.

The Supo family had seven children and the father's jobs both in Western and American Samoa were not sufficient to provide for his family in the way he wanted. The Supo's perceived the move to California as the answer to all their problems. With only an elementary school education and no vocational skills they were taking quite a risk.

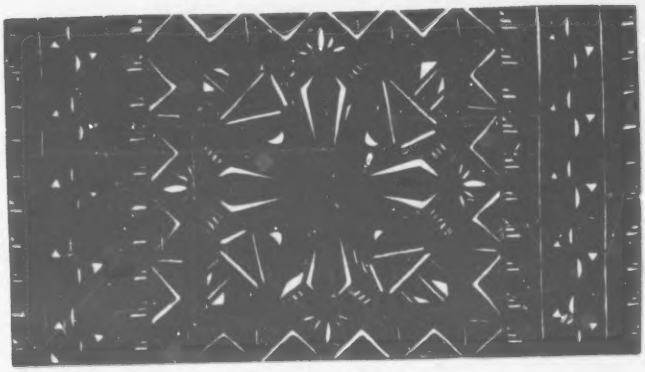
Twelve members of the Filemu household moved to the United States for "an all around better life and education for their children". Although the parents had a grade school education, the father was a skilled carpenter.

The Pea family was convinced by relatives to move after they came to the U.S to attend a son's graduation and liked what they heard and saw about the educational and employment opportunities. The father had been a mechanic in Samoa and the mother a pre-school teacher. They were disappointed that they were unable to find work. They were motivated, but eligibility requirements (certification), language and sometimes stereotyped prejudice prevented them from accomplishing their goal.

None of these families gave thought to their language skills or job skills in terms of the

American market before leaving Samoa. None had any savings to draw from other than that which they used to purchase one way airline tickets. Two families in this group had close relatives they could live with in the beginning, although in the case of the Pea family that meant there were nineteen people living in one house for a time.

The problems these families encountered were repeated in interview after interview. For the most part, they were disillusioned and discouraged. The current inflation and unemployment felt by everyone is compounded for those of limited means and large families. A once proud and strong culture is no match for the complexity of urban America.



HOPE FOR EDUCATIONAL AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY - The Pea Family

The Pea family migrated to the U.S. without prior planning. They first visited the U.S. in order to attend a high school graduation of their eldest son who was living with an uncle and his family in Honolulu. They expected to stay two months before returning to their home village. The father was a mechanic and the mother was a Samoan elementary school teacher (without a stateside credential). During their visit the relatives convinced them of the opportunities for education and employment for themselves and their children.

Although they had seven children ranging in age from 5 to 25, they decided it was worth it. The mother flew to Samoa to return with the younger children. The other children were already in Southern California and one son had enlisted in the service.

At first all seven lived with the brother's family. Because they did not have credit, they could not buy a house. Relatives helped them to apply for SSI and AFDC. With these funds that totaled about $800 plus food stamps valued at another $300, with funds from their working sons and the boy in the service, they felt they could finance a house of their own. They were finding nineteen people in one house too crowded.

The eldest son, 23, had a good paying job as a delivery man. He was able to apply and receive credit which then enabled the

family to purchase a minimum of second hand furnishings, a TV, and two used cars.

The children were enrolled in the local school. Since only the Samoan language was used at home, the children had a difficult time in the schools. When interviewed, three of the children said they liked school but did not always understand what was happening.

They were very bright youngsters, and the family attitude toward schooling encouraged them to attend everyday. The parents did not participate in school activities or respond to parent conference requests because they were uncomfortable with English. There were no bilingual speakers working with this school, although there is a Samoan organization nearby.

They were also caught up in the false notion that the teacher knows what and how to teach each child. Samoan parents have been traditionally reluctant to criticize the school. Parent organizations are a new phenomenom in Samoa.

Recently, a nineteen year old girl with her six month old baby, but no husband, joined the family. She helped with the housework and cared for her baby. She did not continue her high school education. She received AFDC (public assistance).

Neither the father nor the mother were able to find work, although the mother did

contact the school to see if she could become an aide in the preschool program. She felt she was not hired because of her lack of English. The father had not looked for work at age 48 because he felt it time his sons supported him. He used MediCal a great deal for an arthritic condition in his hands and legs. He did have a drinking problem and at the time of the interview he was not receiving any help.

The local Samoan organizaion contacted the family on behalf of the school in order to insure that the children received adequate immunization, otherwise they reported that the only time they sought medical care was for emergencies.

The interviewer described them as a tightly knit family who had little interaction with the Community. They tried to resolve their own problems within the family. They enjoyed Bingo at the church and occasionally the horseraces.

They acknowledged hearing about Samoan youths in trouble with the law, and about child or wife beatings and drugs but they had not experienced those things, and did not wish to have anything to do with those problems. They expressed happiness due to the feeling of freedom and independence they found living here. They felt the Matai at home had become too demanding. This new environment makes them feel helpless when they encounter a "non-Samoan situation" so they tried to avoid this as much as

possible. Their circle of involvement was very limited.

Due to their financial limits they did not buy much on credit. They were proud to be Samoan and felt no problem about being on welfare and not looking for work. They wanted their children to find good jobs but they did not feel they needed additional education to accomplish this. They would like to visit Samoa more often but did not feel they would return there to live.

LOOKING FOR A BETTER LIFE - The Filemu Family

There were twelve members in this household who moved to the United States for "an all around better life and education for their children." The head of the household was a self-employed carpenter. He built all of the family's own furniture.

Although the father and mother had a grade school education, their eight children ranging in age from 7 years to 25 were all either going to school or had graduated, except for one boy who had been disabled on his job. Between the father's work and the eldest son's earnings as a welder, and the funds for the one boy's disability, they did not need additional financial help.

They were purchasing an older four bedroom home and remodeling it. They also had three older cars which the boys worked on all the time in order to keep them running.

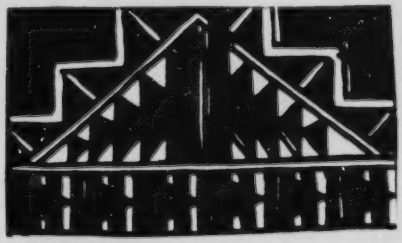
All of the family were active in the church and in Samoan affairs. In fact, recently they provided airline tickets for two men from their village to come and live with them until they could find jobs and bring their families.

They did have three problems related to their children and the schools. At the time of the interviews they did not know what to do about them. The 15 year old daughter had become involved with drugs. They did not know what kind but she appeared dazed or "high" and they realized that money had been missing from home.

FAMILY

The three younger children, seven, nine, and eleven years old seemed to be experiencing prejudice at school from other children and had been involved in a number of fights. As a result of these encounters their attitude toward attending school was poor and there had been a great deal of absenteeism. The parents had not been able to determine what the nature of the prejudice or fighting was all about. However, to date they had not contacted the school.

The father observed a number of Samoan high school dropouts and Samoan teenage gangs that had been responsible for problems in the neighborhood. (teen pregnancies, VD, drug abuse). He wanted to talk with his children about these dangers, but was not sure how to express his concerns for them. He was so happy when they were able to buy this house and even though he was anxious about his sons injury at work he was able to deal with it. He expressed his worry to the interviewer, "will our church and kinship values which we treasure so highly give our family enough strength to overcome these obstacles to a better life?"



ECONOMIC PRESSURES - The Supo Family

The parents in the Supo family began to contemplate moving to the U.S. when the father pointed out "the stagnant economic situation" existing for his family in Apia, Western Samoa. He had seven young children and he thought of their limited future in considering what he could provide for them with his existing salary. In Apia he had been working as a maintenance man for about $24.00 a week at the Mormon High School.

In 1977 the family moved to Pago Pago, American Samoa, but employment opportunities were no better. So in 1978 the entire family moved to the United States. Mr. Supo had gone to America nine months earlier to earn money for their tickets, but there was no preparation before leaving Samoa for life in the United States. Both parents had limited English speaking ability. Neither parent had any marketable job skill.

Their children ranged in age from six months to twelve years. They had no savings to draw from since they were in conflict with their Matai over the contributions he required from the wife's nurse's aide job at the Medical Center in Pago Pago; they could not get funds from that source.

A brother in California invited the husband to join him in San Francisco and offered to provide housing and help with finding

employment. Mr. Supo went to California, lived with his brother and saved his $2.50 an hour as a janitor until he was able to send for his family.

When the rest of the family arrived, there were then 18 people living in the brother's three bedroom house. They were so happy to be together again. The new family (all nine) slept in one bedroom. The brother's family was accustomed to accommodating relatives and did not mind. The crowded living circumstances were the hardest on the younger children who were reprimanded constantly for getting into things. There was no place to play and few appropriate toys.

Mrs. Supo was seven months pregnant and uncomfortable. With help from the relatives, the Supo's were introduced to MediCal but could not qualify for AFDC because the father was employed. When the mother gave birth, the father quit his $2.50 an hour job. He quit partly due to an eye problem but primarily because he was not making enough to support his family. His relatives advised him of the advantage of Public Assistance rather than trying to make ends meet on his limited wages.

To the interviewer, Mr. Supo said he would like to "quit welfare" if he could find a job paying $5.00 or $6.00 an hour because they could live on that. He had no ideas, however, about what he could do for such wages.

He also had no idea what occupation he would like to pursue or what job training opportunities were available. His relatives knew the details of how to acquire medical care, housing and pubic assistance, but they did not have information on the resources for vocational training or English language instruction.

Most of Mr. Supo's time was taken up with searching for a house for his family. The list of available private housing from the welfare office was not helpful. The sister-in-law took time off from work to help the Supo's look because they were unsure of their English language ability.

They all went to a professional apartment listing agency, paid for a list only to find they still had to investigate each apartment on their own. They felt cheated. They did not understand how this apartment locating business worked. They went to several real estate agencies but were told "they did not have credit and they had too many kids."

Finally a nephew responded for them to a newspaper advertisement offering a four-bedroom house for rent. On the application he stated he had four children. It worked and the family was happy to move in, although the agreement they signed stipulated that the owner could sell the house without notice to the family. The house was listed on the market at the time of the interview, so the

family lived from day to day with the knowledge they could be told to leave at anytime.

The house was furnished sparsely with second-hand necessities and a TV purchased on the brother's credit. There was a yard with a fence so the children had a safe place to play, although at the time of this interview the yard was overgrown with weeds. The 9 and 12 year old girls cared for the younger children.

When the interviewer asked about the local educational situation, the Supo's painted a dismal picture of the local elementary school mostly because the school did not have a bilingual speaker on the staff.

The school had tried to contact the family for their advice about Samoan materials that could be used in the instruction to help the children feel more welcome, but the parents did not understand what was being asked. Although there were other Samoan students in the school, evidently they were not able to be helpful.

The two girls repeated their grade levels and appeared to be resentful because of this. The parents reported that they cried a lot when they came home form school because of their "helpless feelings". The local Samoan Community Center was contacted by the school for voluntary assistance but it was reported that they would not help the children because they were trying to

get the schools to hire a bilingual Samoan aide just as aides were hired for other non-English speaking children.

The girls did overcome the language barrier and did begin to make progress. The parents on the other hand retreated more and more into their home and church activities. They left the shopping and school affairs to the children.

Television became their contact with the rest of the world. No social worker nor public health nurse made contact with this family in their home although they had been receiving assistance for over twelve months. There was little in the house to reinforce the children's learning. The younger two were now eligible for kindergarten at five and six years of age, but had not been enrolled because the mother was afraid they might encounter the same negative experiences the older daughters did.

There was no effort on the part of the father to look for vocational training for a job, for a language class. They were a shy family who depended upon their relatives for their needs and "after the children are educated plan to return to Samoa to retire."

FAMILY - Severe Problems

In these next three interviews we encounter some problems that are more complex and intense. Again the reader is cautioned against making generalizations about problems migrant people experience, but these interviews do serve to highlight some of the areas of stress.

The Tala family viewed the move to the United States as a means of getting away from overwhelming problems they were facing. When they experienced some of the same problems in the new setting they were inclined to "blame the unfriendly people and language barrier" rather than examine their own lack of preparation or lack of job skills.

Another example of a problem encountered by newcomers is extortion as illustrated by the interview with Mrs. Musu. Her move to the United States was prompted by a complication in her marriage. She was motivated to take care of herself but ran into an extortion situation among the people she thought she could trust.

In the Timu family the father was employed in a large company and the mother was a nurse's aide. They had six children under the age of 16 all born in American Samoa. The family spoke English well enough to find employment. They were a proud family and would not accept help from anyone, not even from counselors or juvenile authorities. They were seriously in need of help for their teenage son and daughter as well as for themselves, but at the time of the interview they were unable to accept it.

FAMILY

The Tala Family

In 1977 the Tala's arrived in Honolulu. They had been married twenty-six years and lived in American Samoa for twenty-five of those years. They decided to move to Hawaii at the invitation of their relatives to seek more adequate medical attention for Mrs. Tala's chronic stomach pain.

Mr. Tala, age 47, had a sixth grade education and had found a job as a dishwasher in a restaurant. Mrs. Tala, age 46, had no formal education other than from the Faifeau and did not work. The eldest daughter, Sia, 24, a high school graduate was married and was to return to Samoa soon. The youngest daughter, Lea, 21, was six month's pregnant, unmarried, unemployed and had completed the seventh grade. Tui, the 18 year old son, was a high school senior and considered by his parents "hard to manage". Tui had become involved with drugs and was not fulfilling his responsibiltiies. He had run away, stolen money from the family and "did not show respect for his parents."

The family received some public assistance and food stamps to supplement the father's earnings. The pregnant daughter was about to receive welfare support the following month and to date had not had a prenatal consultation or physical check-up. Mrs.

FAMILY

Tala had medical coverage through the department of social services and Mr. Tala had coverage through his employment, but the rest of the family did not have coverage. Mrs. Tala's stomach pain continued to aggrevate her but she did not choose to attend to it at that time. She found it difficult to understand the doctors and nurses and considered the people at the hospital "unfriendly". She was under considerable tension because of the circumstances related to her unwed daughter's pregnancy and the boy's negative behavior.

Although they professed to have moved to the states because of the supporting relationship with their relatives, they did not seem to be receiving any emotional or physical support from anyone outside the family.

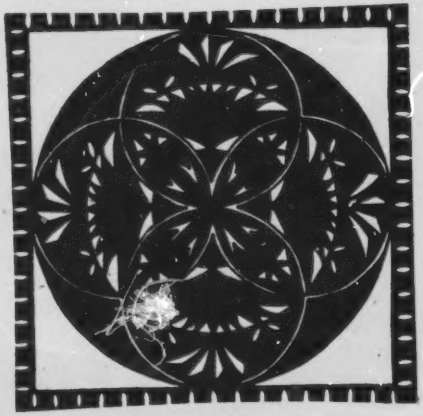
They had been encouraging the older boy to join the military service or to return to Samoa, but he seemed to have withdrawn from meaningful communication with his parents and they did not feel they knew what he would do. They also expressed a sense of helplessness in not being able to control the behaviors of their almost grown children.

The eldest dughter did not want to become involved with her brother and sister and decided to make her home with her husband's family in Samoa. This hurt Mr. and Mrs. Tala because they felt they had a close family. Mrs. Tala told the interviewer

that in addition to her continuing stomach ache, she also had a heartache and felt "miserable".

Although the Tala's are relatively young people (47 & 48), they feel very close to their culture and their religion. They expressed bewilderment at their children's lack of respect and rejection of Fa'aSamoa, and upset because they do not know what to do about it.

The interviewer proposed that they contact a specific local community Mental Health program that had a Samoan speaker on the staff but they did not want to take their problems out of the family. For the same reason they said they could not talk to their minister. They are very much alone with their anguish, but they do have each other and that strength may see them through this crisis.



FEARS -Mrs. Musu

"I would not sign the papers my husband asked me to sign. I asked a lawyer what they meant and he told me that my husband wanted a divorce. I had not done anything bad or behind his back so he would want a divorce from me, so I refused." Mrs. Musu who was originally from Western Samoa went on to say, "His parents treated me like a daughter but his mother had said the marriage wouldn't work." Reluctantly now Mrs. Musu agrees. When she arrived in the United States she found her husband had married again, which was not legal. He also had other children by another woman. She explained to the interviewer that she told him she would never sign divorce papers, they would stay separated and be good friends. She felt this was important to the children. Before she had left Samoa she left her youngest son with her parents and only brought the eldest boy with her.

For a while Mrs. Musu lived with friends and she sent her boy, Sili, to kindergarten . One day he was suspended for fighting. She did not punish him herself but rather brought him to the "lady of the house" because she felt he had shamed the family they lived with. The "lady" spanked and scolded him.

After the reprimand the teacher called to tell Mrs. Musu that Sili would not talk or participate in class activities at all. Sili kept saying he wanted to go back to his grandparents and brother in Samoa. Mrs. Musu felt he would

get over this problem but she worried that someday she would be unable to control him without a father. When she acquired another job so she could spend more time with him, his attitude toward school began to improve. The teacher arranged for him to get special help with English and Mrs. Musu joined an Adult Education class.

Medical care was still a problem. Mrs. Musu's job did not provide medical insurance. She mentioned that when she was sick her brother who was in the Army paid the medical bill. When the doctor prescribed some additional medication she did not have the prescription filled because she could not afford it. She paid her own $20 dentist bill when she needed a tooth extracted, but her son had never been to a dentist. She paid $25 for a measle vaccination and then learned about the free public health clinic for innoculations.

Mrs. Musu wants to be an independent person. She described herself as a hard worker who can pay her own bills. For recreation she enjoys Bingo. She said she will put everything into God's hands and He will see that she is taken care of. Religion is an important part of her life.

In talking about the future, Mrs. Musu indicated she would like to find a job as a sales clerk, go to adult school to improve her English, learn to play the piano and learn to drive. She said she knew she could find a better job if she could strengthen her English. "When I am

at church or at Bingo," she told the interviewer, "the women are joking and laughing in English and I pretend I understand, but I don't. I am so ashamed."

In discussing problems, Mrs. Musu worries about the teenage drinking and drop outs in her sister's family. She felt they were losing respect for their elders. The nephews do not go to church and they see their parents argue with each other. She observed a lot of tension in the Samoan families who have recently come to California.

As the interviewer was leaving, Mrs. Musu mentioned one additional problem. She said she needed help with her immigration papers. She gave $50 to a Samoan man to help her. He said he would fix the papers and she had not heard from him since. She would like to make her stay legal because once she went to the hospital for care of a bad cut and they had asked her to fill out admission forms. She panicked and left because she did not want to sign anything for fear she would be found out and deported. She let her hand heal itself. She constantly worries about being deported to Samoa.

The person who took her money has done this to others but nothing has been done about it. Mrs. Musu said her brother in Honolulu will come and go after this person and get her money back or her papers. In the meantime she said she must be "very careful."

The Timu Family

The husband's son from a previous marriage came to live with the Timu family because he had gotten into trouble with the law for stealing a car, fighting, and drinking. The police felt he needed to talk over his problems with his father. The Timu's were worried about the effect Pita's behavior would have upon the other children, and they were not sure where they would find room for him to sleep. The youngest son slept in the parents room, the three daughters in one bedroom and the two boys in the living room. After much debate they decided to clean out a basement storage room and arrange it as a room for the three boys together.

They registered Pita at the high school after some initial paperwork confusion related to his transfer, but he never attended. He would not talk about it with Mrs. Timu or his father. Mrs. Timu commented to the interviewer that Pita was afraid of his father. Within the first week in his new home, Pita stole the keys to the car and ran it into the side of a building. When the police came he had run away. They then had a wrecked car and a $2,000 liability damage suit for the house.

About the same time their 16 year old daughter started misbehaving (smoking and drinking) and dropped out of high school. She had been a good student until high school. The next to the eldest daughter had been detained by police for shoplifting. She was with some of her cousins, and they

were all caught together. The Timu's did not know what would happen because of these charges. They did not know where or how to get legal assistance or advice.

Mr. Timu had been unemployed since they arrived in Southern California in March of 1978. He had been a fireman but was unable to qualify for such a job here. He had thought about getting additional training but there had just been too many problems to deal with.

They had been lucky to move into a house because his brother had to return to Samoa for a while. They liked the neighborhood and especially the light and spacious rooms. They did have one more problem with the sliding glass door to the patio.

Their five year old boy came running into the house shortly after they had moved in and ran right through the glass. He received 37 stitches in his head and the family was quite worried about him because he had been a premature baby. Mrs. Timu explained she had a difficult time with his birth and has been concerned about his development. Because of this she was especially worried about the after effects of such an accident on this child.

The interviewer asked if they had spoken to doctors about this worry. They said they talked to the emergency room doctor and he told them to observe the boy and

report any changes in his behavior. Mr. Timu felt his wife was "babying" the boy and they argued a lot about whether the child was "normal." They had not reported back to the hospital doctors. The interviewer's observation of the child did not indicate any obvious abnormality.

The mother's overprotectiveness may become a greater problem. On the other hand, she has some basis for her fears since, in that same week, a young child next door was struck and killed by a hit and run driver apparently going around their corner on two wheels. The car and driver have not yet been found. Running without looking seemed to be a characteristic of the young children in the neighborhood.

The family was not eager to contact local community resources. They said "we have too much troubles." They had sent their eldest daughter to a GED stipend program that would pay $2.90 per hour, 4 hours a day, for fifteen weeks and would provide oppportunities to improve her English, Math and typing skills but she did not continue. The agency told them they could not help her if she would not take some responsibility for herself. They did not know why she had dropped out. Mr. Timu felt since he could not control his children he would not ask for any assistance. The family did receive public assistance but only money, food stamps, and health cards. There was no counseling provided.

FAMILY

Many of the interviews described feelings of discouragement expressed by various members of the households because they could not qualify for better paying jobs. However, few indicated a knowledge of, or willingness to involve themselves in a vocational or adult educational program.

The loss of prestige resulting from doing menial work is almost as traumatic as the person who found himself in a desk job in Samoa in order to earn cash wages when really at heart he was more comfortable as a farmer. Such was the Faalofa family described in the next interview. They had no problem accepting welfare because they saw public assistance comparable to the matai system at home that would help care for the family if they could not. To the father, the loss of self esteem that would result from doing someone else's dirty work was too much to accept. Drinking had provided a partial escape for Mr. Faalofa just as it does in most cultures of the world.

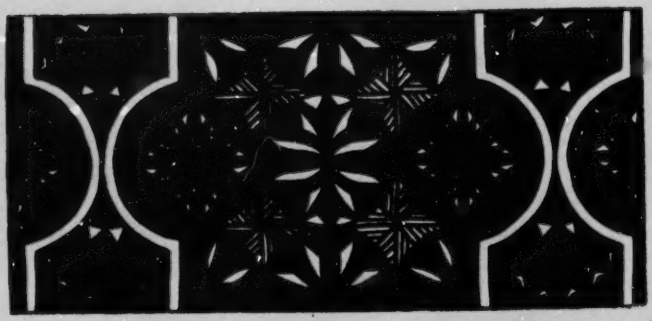
Another recurring problem was revealed in the interviews related to health. The Galu family came to California specifically to get special care for the father's back injury. They were a family of eleven people, the eldest child only 14 and the youngest a six month old infant. They had no idea how they would live while the father was receiving care or afterward. Their interview dramatically illustrates the inadequate preparation in Samoa for coping with mainland demands.

FAMILY

One way to get additional assistance was to divide the family and send some of the children to live with grandparents in another household. The interview with the Aua family describes that situation. The grandparents had no income of their own. What they received from SSI was not adequate to live on but because they took in four grandchildren they were able to acquire additional public assistance and housing.

Their story was not uncommon nor were the problems that resulted from the "generation gap". The Aua's are 62 and 60 years of age and raising young people aged 15 to 18 was not an easy task for anyone.

These three interviews are reflections on more than one problem and they serve to illustrate the complexity of this transition period.



The Faalofa Family

With less than a grade school education it is difficult to cope with the demands of the 20th Century. Even with a Samoan High School diploma many persons still find themselves inadequately prepared to assume a meaningful role in the labor market. The Faalofa Family consisted of eight people. Mr. and Mrs. Faalofa had not completed grade school but two of their sons had been attending the high school in Samoa before they moved.

A Samoan man of 45 years of age never knew the hunger and discouragement of the depression years as did his palagi cousins on the mainland. Samoa was a land of plenty with adequate fish, banana, taro, and coconut. The Naval Administration was one of benevolent paternalism, so life was good. One had only to maintain his plantation or farm, fish and repair the fale with local materials. What schools existed were primarily for those near Pago Pago and the minister did what teaching was to be done for the village children from the Bible. Emphasis was on being strong and tireless, a good fisherman and a clever builder.

By the 60's and 70's in spite of increased emphasis on education and jobs with the government that paid cash wages, many felt discouraged. Mr. Faalofa found he was not suited for the "paper work" required on the job his uncle got him in the Department of Public Works in Pago Pago. He wanted the

things money could buy, things the war years had brought to Samoa but he could not cope with the 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. schedule and related demands. Drinking became his escape.

Finally, the family decided that moving to Hawaii was the only answer. They hoped the move would give the father an opportunity to start again. The mother's sister sent plane tickets on a "fly now pay later" plan. When they arrived she helped them make application for public housing and for welfare. The four younger children were enrolled in school and the two teenagers found work in a fast food restaurant. The father went to work for a construction company and welfare supplemented their income with food stamps.

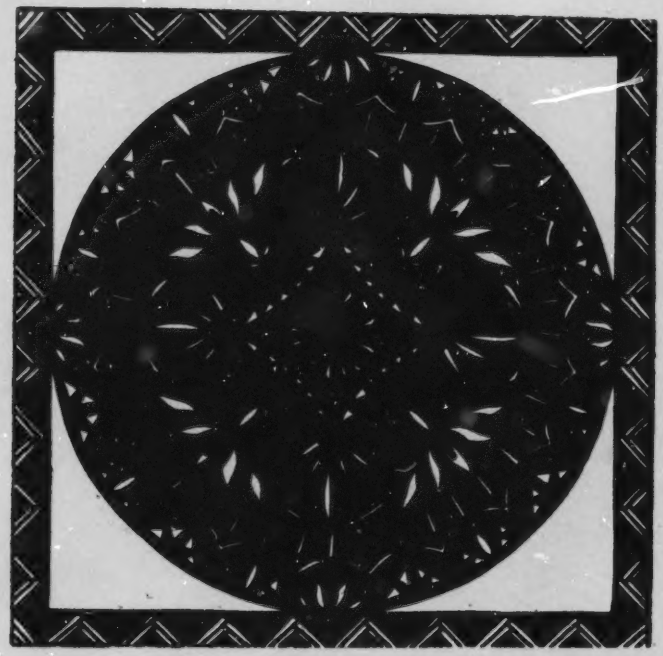
A used car was their first priority and then a used TV. Mr. Faalofa continued to work and his drinking was under control. Although they did not participate in the church or in Fa'aSamoa, they spoke with the hope that their children would keep their language and ties to the culture.

The interviewer wrote about a sense of optimism she felt in this family. Even though the father's work is menial they feel he can handle it. The public health visiting nurse has helped them with getting proper immunizations and with treating a lice problem. They expressed good feelings about the attention they have received from the health deparmtment and about the quality of education in the elementary school.

FAMILY

They view public assistance as the same interdependency that exists in their home village in Samoa.

With six children and no marketable skills they would have lived on their plantation and never had all the "benefits" of America. Mrs. Faalofa was very happy that they left Samoa.



The Galu Family

Asu is a rural village in American Samoa. It was quite a contrast to the noisy, bustling traffic, tall buildings and varieties of people found in L.A.

The Galu family arrived about six months ago and found it quite confusing. They came to L.A. because of complications resulting from a back injury Mr. Galu received in Samoa a year ago. The Medical Center in Pago Pago was unable to help him so he went to Southern California where the family had relatives.

He was in great pain when he was admitted to the hospital. The resulting operation was a serious and delicate one, and he was most grateful for the quality of care he received. He did not have workmen's compensation or any insurance so relatives helped the family establish eligibility with the Welfare Department. The medical expenses did not cost the family anything.

Mrs. Galu and their nine children moved into public housing. At the time of these interviews they did not have funds for anything other than food and rent. With traditional Samoan stoicism they slept and ate on the floor and cooked all their meals with two pots. They had an argument with their relatives and have not received any additional assistance from them nor from their Mormon Ward since.

Of the eleven people in this household, only the two eldest children, 12 and 14 years of age can read English. The family depends

upon them for all their contacts with the Community and the Hospital.

To date no social worker or public health person has called on this family and only the 12 and 14 year olds are going to school. (The other children range in age from 2 years to 11 years). The mother had been too concerned about her husband's care to take time to enroll them. They ran around the apartment, and considering there was nothing to play with and nothing to do, they showed remarkable self-control and imagination.

According to Mrs. Galu there is little hope the father will work again and the mother does not have any marketable skills. She also, somewhat reluctantly, described another problem worrying her. One of their children appears to be "slow with an awkwardness to the left side of her body". Her "problem" has not been diagnosed and she was afraid to bring it to the attention of the hospital staff because she felt it will reflect badly upon the reputation of the family.

Mrs. Galu did not wish any referral for legal assistance to pursue the possible obligation of her husband's former employer in relation to the back injury and his resulting permanent incapacity. The interviewer described this family as "vulnerable." Their ability to cope with their new home may depend upon receiving some guidance from responsible people before they are here much longer.

Grandmother and Grandfather Ata

The Ata's and their four grandsons age 18, 17 year old twins, and a 15 year old were living in public housing in Hawaii. The youth were all attending school and they spoke of their school as OK and their teachers as helpful people. Mr. Ata is 62 and Mrs. Ata is 60. They are the parents of the mother of these teenagers and arranged to provide a home for them partly because they also needed help acquiring a place to live. The family received their support from Mr. Ata's four grown sons and from the Welfare Department.

Their greatest worry seemed to be over helping the younger grandson complete high school and not get involved with "peer pressure groups who are smoking, drinking and cutting school." The boy apparently would not listen to his grandparents and they were afraid to tell the boy's father because he would beat him severely. This had happened before and the boy behaved for awhile but then matters became worse than before.

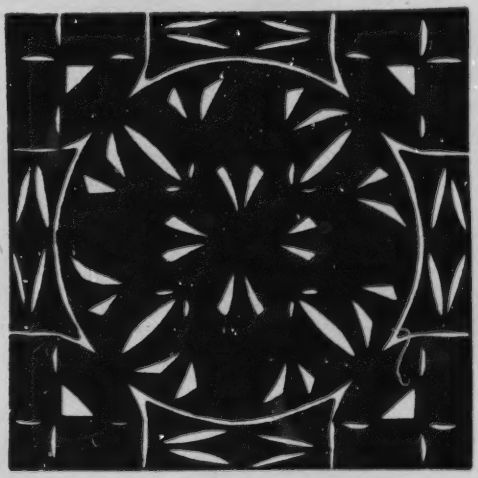
The apartment was noisy due to two stereo sets playing two different kinds of music. The grandparents said they go to bed early and bury their heads because the four youths and their friends are boisterous.

Sometimes Mrs. Ata goes out to play Bingo, but she does not do it very often because "she is afraid one of these days she will be caught" (Bingo is illegal in Honolulu).

FAMILY

The Ata family was aware of public resources according to the interviewer, but they had never used them except for financial assistance. They did use their medicare cards, but had never made an effort to participate in programs for senior citizens. They did participate in Fa'aSamoa and in their local church.

They were very happy together in Hawaii and felt that the grandchildren would have a better life because of the quality of education they were receiving in Honolulu. They were also pleased they could provide a home for the youngsters which helps them to have a better home and relieves the crowding in the daughter's family. These grandparents feel proud to have a meaningful role in their family.



FAMILY

The next five interviews describe some extremely complex problems and, in addition, each family represents more than one or two problems. All but one of the families are receiving public assistance but it does not follow that they are then also aware of other services that might be helpful or that even if they were, that they would use them. They do not want outsiders to know about their affairs.

These vignettes were drawn from interviews that illustrated various forms of child and wife abuse. Most of the families said they left Samoa in order to increase their income, find better employment opportunity and better educational opportunity for their children. Two different households said they quite frankly wanted to get away from the traditional demands of the Matai system and two families also said they wanted more privacy than the village life provided.

All of these families are active in their different churches and in Fa'aSamoa but the Samoan culture at this time tends to deny the existence of some of these problems of abuse, so to date the strengths of the culture have not been brought to bear on this issue.

One Samoan professional stated abuse in anglo terms is not seen as a "problem." "The behavior/ acts that cause one to be physically disciplined are the problems not the punishment. These differences in interpretation of child and wife abuse have caused constant conflicts and misunderstandings between Samoans and Service providers."

FAMILY

The Sisipa Family

Mrs. Sisipa met her husband when he was already caring for four nephews. He had brought them to the United States to raise and teach them a trade because he felt that his sister could not do that. She was evidently more interested in her daughters. Mrs. Sisipa had one son so with their combined incomes this family of seven was able to purchase a four bedroom house and raise their standard of living. However, she commented in disgust, that they made a big mistake designating one bedroom as a guest room for it was in constant use.

At one point the husband's sister moved in with her two sons and three girls. She was separated from her husband and needed a place to "think things over". Her brother could not refuse her the refuge of his home in spite of the crowded conditions it created. In addition, the mother-in-law visited frequently so there were fourteen people to house and feed. During this period a cousin of Mr. Sisipa called to ask him to take in one of their boys because of his problems with the law. Mrs. Sisipa felt she was "going crazy" but she also knew this boy needed guidance so they took him in. She told her husband "now we have eight boys -- no more."

In spite of, or because of, the number of boys this family seemed to be doing all right.

Then an incident occurred that changed the picture. The boy, Leni, who had asked to stay when his mother and sisters went back to Samoa, was slapped around by the father because he misplaced a book.

The next beating took place when Leni helped a brother's girlfriend locate him at school. The father was against this and was so upset he beat him until he broke Leni's arm. The hospital was told that Leni fell off his skateboard. Mrs. Sisipa tried to reason with the husband about his harsh discipline and punishment, but she felt she was not effective. They did not speak to each other for three days. Their relationship deteriorated.

Then came another beating and a second broken arm about a year later over a misunderstanding about permission for Leni to go to the movies. At that point the mother, Leni, and the youngest children went to her sister's house to try and teach her husband a lesson. They stayed for two weeks. The older boys who stayed with their father reported they were getting along all right, and finally the father called his wife and Leni to apologize. They all returned to the home.

But all was not well. Mr. Sisipa seemed to be going through a change. He missed work, called in sick, stayed home and watched TV. He would not talk about how he felt. Many relatives arrived for extended visits-- two weeks, four or six weeks. Mrs. Sisipa was

holding two jobs and carrying the entire financial responsibility for the family. "I began to feel like my house was a hotel and I was the maid service," she said "I would not have minded so much if the favor was returned but this was getting out of hand."

By Fall one boy went to college on a football scholarship, and the husband's sister requested that her boy return to help with her family. That brought about another crisis because the boy did not want to go. He had heard that his mother was "fooling around" and she wanted him to come and earn money for her. He went reluctantly, for all his friends, hobbies, school, everything he loved was here.

After he left, the remaining 6 boys seemed to fight a lot and pick on Leni and the mother spent much of her time trying to make peace. When Mrs. Sisipa went to Samoa to attend a graduation, the father forced Leni out of the house and spent all their money. When she returned she spent three weeks searching police, community agency and hospital records trying to find Leni. When Leni was found staying with friends she told him she was getting a divorce and he was upset for he felt that it was because of him.

Mrs. Sisipa felt she would not return to live with Mr. Sisipa. She did not feel anyone could help him change his behavior now and she had decided she was not going to support him and have him abuse Leni as well.

FAMILY

She has not discussed her problem with anyone at the church she attends nor with anyone outside of her family. She feels strongly that she will take care of her own problems.

The Liti Family

This family arrived in San Diego in 1974. They say they moved to the United States in order to increase their income, find better employment opportunities and better educational opportunity for their children. At the time of this interview the family of six was receiving welfare and special medical care. They were visited by a worker from Protective Services because of charges by the school of possible child abuse and also for reported delinquency problems involving the 11 and 8 year old girls.

The Liti's lived in public housing in a nicely furnished apartment with a new color TV, stereo and many lovely Samoan decorations such as fine mats, ulu's, baskets and fans.

The eldest son, a ninth grader, is 15. He is experiencing difficulties in reading and math although he is now enrolled in a special class for reading which seems to be helping. The 13 year old daughter requires a hearing aid and receives assistance from the school nurse for her hearing problems. The 11 year old daughter does not have academic problems but has frequently been involved in serious fights with other children in the school. Her aggressive behavior has been so extreme a counselor was assigned to spend a great deal of time with her to try and work out an understanding of the problem.

In addition to all of this it was reported that the eight year old girl, an adopted daughter, apparently lies, steals food and has occasionally, run away from home or

not returned promptly after school. Because of this behavior, the mother said she is forced to "spank her often".

The Child Protective Services worker felt the bruises and scratches on this youngest child were due in part to the mother's severe punishment and not just the child's roughhouse play. Discussion with the child confirmed that her mother spanked her,but not her father. She also told the worker she acquired her bruises and scratches from playing on the skateboard.

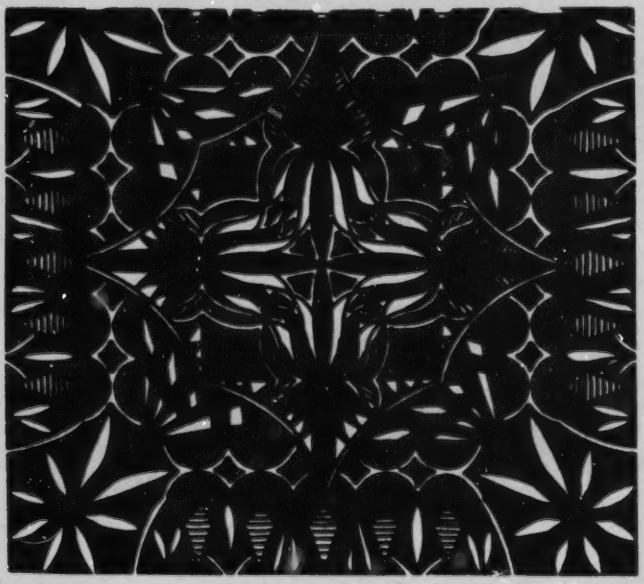
From the school's point of view it appeared that this child was being abused by severe, and frequent spanking and beatings that she was receiving from her mother. The child's behavior may indicate she is trying to avoid confrontation at home and probably misses regular meals because of it.

The family sees the school and the Child Protective workers as meddling in their affairs. The interviewer tried to interpret Western Culture concepts of discipline and punishment to the family and explained the definition of child abuse and neglect. She also attempted to interpret to the school and the Child Protective Services worker something about Samoan culture and childrearing practices.

The interviewer felt that it would take a Samoan para-professional to work with this family in order to reduce the severity of this mother's punishment as well as work

with the child to change her behavior.

There are so many academic and behavior problems for the four children that it would be difficult to deal with any one of them alone.



The Alofa Family

The head of this household went to Hawaii in 1977 because of the greater economic opportunity his brothers and sisters wrote about. He liked it so much that he sent for his wife and two children.

Since Mr. Alofa had been a delivery man in Pago Pago he was able to find a similar job. His wife made the adjustment to Hawaii well because as a Western Samoan she was proficient in English and had worked in a store. However, during the interview it became apparent that there was a great deal of conflict and marital discord in the family and speculation from observations that the wife had been beaten. Upon further discussion it developed that the husband drank excessively. When he was home arguments occurred and at one point she needed to use a knife to protect herself. Mrs. Alofa is aware that her husband was alleged to have been involved with other women and with marijuana. She has called police in the past because she was afraid of his violent, aggressive behavior. However, she observed that the policeman smoked marijuana so she did not expect much protection from him.

When Mrs. Alofa discussed these problems with welfare workers they provided information as to resources she might use if the beatings persisted. When they recurred she left her husband and took the children with her to a women's shelter.

The church does not play a significant role in this family nor does the Fa'aSamoa.

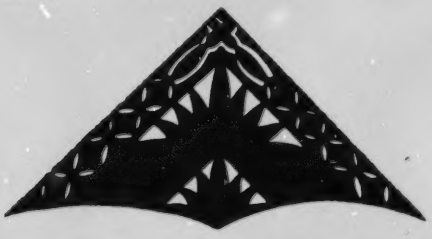
FAMILY

Mrs. Alofa feels she left her family ties in Western Samoa and does not like the way Fa'aSamoa is conducted here so she does not participate.

In spite of all the physical abuse she has experienced, she gave birth to another baby girl. She returned to their home and her husband asked for forgiveness so they are at this time trying to work things out again.

The Department of Social Services have been providing for the children's health care but thus far neither parent has given consideration to their own health needs. (The father weighs over 325 lbs. and the mother's weight is similar). So far there has not been any regular family counseling or help with the alcohol and wife abuse problems or with health and nutritional problems.

In Samoa, problems with one's aiga are to be kept within the aiga. A family with problems reflects upon the family name. Such cultural constraint has given rise to reluctance to seek outside help.



The Tupe Family

This young couple originally from Western Samoa met and married in Utulei, American Samoa and then moved to Los Angeles in 1977. At first they lived with relatives but had to move after their baby (born in a taxi on the way to the Pago Pago hospital), became a disruptive factor in the household causing marital discord and violent frustrations. The Tupe's felt their baby had been "mishandled by the nurses". They also felt guilty about his being a "difficult child" and their lack of patience, overprotectiveness, harsh discipline and inconsistency in the way they disciplined him.

When Peter was five his teachers reported he was hyperactive, had convulsive seizures, and the classroom reports indicated disruptive behavior in classroom situations. The family was upset about this and felt they were to blame. Mr. Tupe took the position that he would make Peter behave. His punishments were severe and had no observable effect on the boy's school or home behavior.

One day Mrs. Tupe had taken Peter into Kaiser for a check up. The Kaiser Hospital pediatrician noted bruises on the child and encouraged the parents to come in and talk about the worries they had about their son. Although this was a very difficult topic for them to discuss with a "palagi," over the course of six months of meetings, the father, in particular, was able to say he had a better understanding of his own impatience and his son's problems. He felt

he was able to make more realistic judgements about handling the child's behavior and his own responses. Monthly visits by a hospital social worker to the family seemed to ease the mother's impatience as well. They had begun to relax and enjoy their new baby daughter who apparently was quite a normal baby. The father's work hours allowed him to be home early in the afternoon, so he had time to be with his son to help him direct his energy into constructive play.

Mr. Tupe has been employed off and on for over a year. They are receiving assistance because Mr. Tupe cannot work at this time. They live in public housing and are active in their church. They did not think their discipline and control of their son was any different than the way any other (Samoan) families around them handled their children. They do not mind the social worker visits but they still feel a lot has to do with what happened to Peter when he was born. They are, however, trying and the school indicated that Peter was showing some improvement so they were encouraged.

The Tiga Family

In 1975 at the age of 12, Eva came from American Samoa with her father's mother to live in the United States. In Samoa she was in high school and lived with her grandmother, aunt, and uncle. She was told that she had been left at the hospital by her mother and father when she was born because her parents departed for the United States without notifying anyone. The hospital called relatives to pick her up and she lived with them in Samoa until they moved to Southern California.

Eva looked forward to meeting her parents but they did not appear at the airport with the other relatives when she arrived. These same relatives had paid her airfare and would provide a place for her to live. After three months of inquiring throughout California, the parents were located. They were living with thirteen of their relatives in an older duplex house. The adults and four girls lived upstairs, the boys lived downstairs. The girls did all the chores, including cleaning, cooking, and serving for everyone.

Eva was pleased to be with her own family in spite of the crowded conditions and problems with communications (her English was limited). English was spoken in the home except by the grandparents.

Their financial resources were very limited. The grandparents received Social Security Insurance. Two of the oldest girls worked after school, one as a typist and one as a

waitress in a fast food restaurant; all of the boys had part time jobs, one had a newspaper route, one was a grocery bagger, and one did gardening; one aunt was a nurse's aide, the uncle worked in a shipyard while the parents worked in the food service industry. All money was turned over to the grandfather who was the traditional head of the household.

Life was not easy. Eva was punished by her mother "when she did not work according to her mother's satisfaction." This punishment took the form of slappings and hair pullings. Her father ignored her. He hardly ever spoke to her.

Once she ran away after a beating, but her cousins convinced her to return. At school her bruises attracted the attention of her teachers and the school administrator asked the parents to come to the school. They refused to go at first, but were finally convinced there would be legal trouble if they did not. When they spoke with the school officials they put the responsibility on Eva saying she was "too hard to handle and she lost her head."

Soon after that incident the parents had an argument with the granddparents over the amount of their income they needed to give them and finally decided to move with some of the other aunts, uncles, and cousins to a different three bedroom apartment.

One bedroom was for all the boys, one for an aunt, uncle and their two girls, one for all the other girls and the mother, and the other aunt slept in the living room. Now there were fifteen people in this small apartment, in public housing, in a run down neighborhood.

This was a difficult living situation for Eva. No one was employed, there was "grass" smoked all day and a great deal of drinking. Three of the other teenagers were drop outs. They had been suspended from school and the parents did nothing about it. "The uncles, when they were home, sat around, drank and talked. The aunts went out driving, shopping, to Bingo or visiting friends. Meals were cooked for the grown-ups and the rest of the family prepared food when they were hungry. There were two cars in the family, one for use by the men and the other for the women."

Eva's beatings continued as her mother's demands increased. One day Eva stayed home to try and get some "rest". On that day no one was home. "The father arrived home early, found her sleeping in the bedroom and 'did a very bad thing that is unacceptable in Samoan culture.' she screamed, tried to push him away, but he slapped her repeatedly until she was exhausted. She did not know what to do."

Later that night she decided to call one of her uncles in another city. He told her to get out of the house and wait for him. She was "scared, confused, and did not understand

why her father would do this to her." When her uncle arrived he told her to wait outside the house. Sitting on the front steps she could hear furniture violently moving around and when her uncle called her into the house she saw her father on the floor with blood coming from his mouth and nose. She began to cry and when her uncle asked if she wanted to go with him, she said no. So instead he took her out for something to eat to reassure her of his support and he told her that her father would not touch her again and if he tried she was to come to his house.

When she returned to the house the parents had taken the father to the hospital telling everyone that he had been in a fight at work. When they returned they pulled her into the bedroom and confronted her with angry faces demanding to know what she had told the uncle. She refused to tell them, until the mother's slapping grew so severe she finally screamed out what had happened. The father denied the whole episode. The mother said Eva lied, and the beating continued until she was unconscious.

The next day her mother forced her to go to school inspite of her bruises and lacerations. Eva was sent to the principals office by her teacher but she only said she had been beaten by her mother. The police were called, a social worker interviewed her, and her injuries were photographed. All of these people tried to be sympathetic and reassuring, but all she could think of was

what her mother would do to her now when she found out about this investigation.

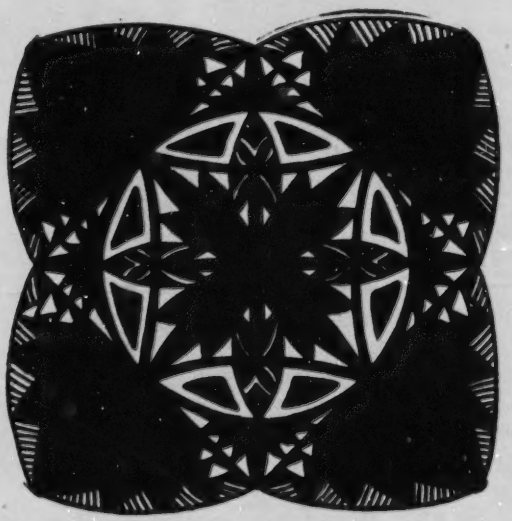
Finally, a report was filed and a finding of child abuse was made but the "other" was not mentioned. For 6 months Eva was placed in a foster home with a family of four. Her bruises healed, her English improved. and she learned to sew and cook. Court hearings during that time resulted in warnings to the mother that should an abuse incident occur again, they would lose their daughter for a minimum of two years.

Eva then returned to the family with a social worker assigned to make monthly checks on conditions. Bilingual speakers were used by the court to provide two way communications but the social service department did not have a Samoan speaker or aide. For about 30 days there were no beatings and then they started again seeming even more violent than before.

The father now repeats his behavior with her regularly and beats her when she resists. The mother seems to ignore this situation. Eva is afraid to tell anyone for fear it will make matters worse-- like it did the first time. She said to the interviewer who promised never to reveal her name "now she is thinking this is not her 'real' father because no 'real' father would do this to his own daughter." Eva at 16 is "ashamed and confused."

The interviewer noted there were others like her who would not reveal such information because "there is no program that provides protection." "Sooner or later her parents would find her, she would have to go back and it would be worse."

Some of these girls are now "working the streets in order to get away from their families. The girls themselves and the interviewer do not feel there are programs available to them that can help. The transition for Eva from Samoa to the mainland has indeed been a traumatic one. Hopefully this extreme is a rare occurence.



FAMILY

The following statement was selected from AMERICAN SAMOAN MYTHS AND LEGENDS because it spoke to the problem illustrated by this first excerpt and because incest is considered such a taboo subject in the Samoan community.

It is hoped that by acknowledging the existence of the problem it will be possible to begin to deal with it. We owe that much to Eva and her peers who suffer in silence.

INCEST

A young man may not propose marriage to his cousin, because their parents are close blood relatives and they themselves are considered brother and sister.

Should a girl have intercourse with her brother and become pregnant, she must not admit that her brother is the culprit. She will rather tell her parents that the son of such or such a high chief or orator is the father. When she gives birth, the family of young man she indicated will be advised. They will express their satisfaction and kill pigs, which together with a boat and feather skirt are presented to the young mother and her parents. When the child has been weaned, a woman will come from the reputed father's family and take him home. Here he may stay for the rest of his life.

Everybody knows, of course, that the child is not living with his real father, for there is no similarity in their features, their eyes, their limbs and their stature. Everyone knows that his mother's brother is his father. However, if he behaves himself and is devoted to his foster parents, he may get a title in the family and eventually succeed to his reputed father.

If a boy and a girl, having the same father and mother, are guilty of incest and found out by their parents, they will be cursed by their father in the following words, "You shall not escape punishment, for you have done that which is improper." To his son he will say, "Your children, son, shall not survive you; with you the lineage shall come to an end." To his daughter he will say, "You, girl, shall live the life of a vagabond. You shall be barren and your entrails shall shrivel up. You shall not bear any children."

The son will grieve and be heavy-hearted for the rest of his life, for he will see his father's curse fulfilled. If he marries and his wife bears him children, he will not joy long in their beauty nor will they render him a service, for they will all die in childhood. As for the girl, she will never find a permanent home, but wander about in distress, thinking of her father's maledicction. She will live unloved and never have a child to look after her needs.

Afai e i ai se afafine o se alii aili, ua ilos e tulafale o se isi nuu, o le tamaitai e aulelei ma maua e ona aiga le tele o toga, e faaaloalogia foi o ia e lona nuu, e filifili loa tulafale i se togafiti e mafai ai ona maua mai lena tamaitai, ina ia maua ai le tele o toga ua i lona aiga. Ona latou filifili lea po o ai se alii o lo latou nuu e mafai ona manao i ai lenei tamaitai ma lona nuu Afai e tonu i o latou manatu e aili sea alii, e mafai lava e ia tulafale ona tuli ese le ava a lea alii, se latou ave lo latou alii e aumomoe ai i lea tamaitai Afai e matua tele le alii, ona faapea lea ona ave ane lona atalii moni e aumomoe ma tulafale i le tamaitai O le taulealea o le manaia foi a le nuu e i ai lona saosaomaga.

Afai e talia lenei aumoega e le tamaitai ma lona nuu, ona nofo ai lea o le tamaitai ma lea taulealea po o le manaia. Ona fai atu ai lea o lauga a tulafale sa aumomoe ma lena taulealea, i le alii e ona le afafine ma le nuu uma o le tamaitai, "Ua faafetai se tatou talosia ia fua le niu, afai e fanau lenei tamaitai i le taulealea ona taua lea o lana tama, o le fuafuataga."

O tulafale sa faia lea filifiliga latou te suesueina lenei tamaitai pe faapefea ona itu, pe tutusa ma itu e lua, e lelei le itu o le tama, lelei foi le itu o le tina E faapea foi le aiga o le tamaitai ma lo latou nuu, latou te suesueina le tama po o le alii, pe tutusa ona itu pe leai. Afai ua latou ilos e le tutusa itu o le alii ma lo latou tamaitai, ona teena lea o le aumoega. Afai o se tamaitai e le tutusa ona itu, e le mafai ona alu i ai se aumoega a se nuu atoa; e gata lava i le fuaiala e i ai le alii ona o atu e aumomoe i lea tamaitai.

FAMILY

STRESS ON THE ELDERLY

This last interview is the combination of the experience of the elderly in several households. The story is about an elderly American Samoan woman and the trials she experienced with her family as they were growing up in California. The story was prepared in part as illustrative material for a conference on Aging held in Honolulu in 1978.

The name Losa is ficticious. It was taken from Margaret Mead's Coming of Age in Samoa.

An Elderly American Samoan Woman
and Her Family

Losa was a middle child - that is younger than five others but older than four. Birthdays as dates were not considered of great importance. Raised by her siblings after she was weaned at about two years of age, she was to become a nurse-maid herself by the time she was six.

As it was in Mead's day, the world of the young child was filled with perpetual admonitions to behave, keep still, be quiet. She observed "this system would result in making half the population solicitous and selfsacrificing and the other half tyrannous and self-indulgent. Each child then becomes somewhat disciplined and socialized through responsibility for a still younger one"(*). This indulgent behavior only occurs within the family where duly constituted elders in authority punish the older children who cannot manage their younger charges.

Outside of the family, relationships are a different matter, and children receive the full impact of the anger of a person who is displeased. The reaction by the child then is to cling even closer to their own "guardians." The girl's role remains while the boy's, by eight or nine, move on to other opportunities. Losa learned her skills as a woman through the difficult apprenticeship role where she had to do all the work, and when it was not right, receive all the punishment.

FAMILY

Since Losa was born at the beginning of World War I, her family came into what might be considered a windfall. The U.S. Navy established a coaling station in Pago Pago and her father, then a bright young man, was hired to carry messages between the Navy offices and the Chief's Council. This work produced cash, a scarce commodity in Tutuila at the time.

With her father away most of the day, the job of fishing was left entirely to the five older boys and two uncles. However, since they had a large family to feed and were lacking in her father's skill of leadership, the catch fell off, but instead of her father being angry and punishing them for loafing (he was a titled chief), he rewarded the family with cans of food, the favorite being corned beef, which he bought at the Navy commissary. This simple to prepare, delicious new food was a welcome change from fish and taro, and acknowledged the importance of his new role and a regular pay check. This was the beginning of a new way of life for the family.

As greater numbers of young men went to work for the Navy, more money could be earned than from processing the coconut into copra, or selling breadfruit and fish. Each family continued to give their Chief their earnings as always but now there was more cash. At age seventeen, Losa married her village sweetheart and had a healthy son soon after. She took up her role in the village as her mother had done before,

but there was a new stirring. Some of the men who had served in the Navy had returned and told marvelous stories of adventure, and new foods, cars and radios in a far away place called America, the same place the Navy people came from. Five years and five children later at 27, Losa found herself bundling her brood to sail to America with the boat tickets received from her husband who had gone to San Diego to work in the Navy Shipyard.

San Diego was a huge city by her standards and in 1941 it was a confusing, frightening city because of the way people spoke about its vulnerability to attack as a strategic naval base.

Losa and her family were given a small but adequate house some distance from the shipyards. Her husband left before dawn, often did not return until very late and was sometimes gone for six or seven days a week. She was pregnant with her sixth child and the eldest, barely five, was not much help. She begged her husband to send for her mother and father to help her even though her parents were 50 years old. (Considered elderly by Samoan standards where life expectancy was 55). Before her parents could come, two tragedies struck their family. Her father drowned on a fishing trip in Pago. The same week, Losa's husband fell off a scaffolding and was killed.

At 28, Losa was alone in a strange country that was just recovering from an economic

depression. She was responsible for six children and did not have formal education or marketable skills. The Navy survivor's pension barely covered rent since they had to move to different quarters. Social Security benefits provided food but not much money remained for clothing or other items. Church and fa'alavelave (Samoan family obligations to funerals, weddings, celebrations) took a large portion of her funds.

When Losa's eldest son Feru was eighteen, he married a Samoan woman of sixteen who was pregnant with his child. He had been working as a welder and now brought her to live with them. His 17 and 16 year old brother and sister had dropped out of school and were working in the post office and at a neighborhood grocery store. The three other children were still in school, but often absent because of minor colds or various church and cultural obligations.

Losa was active in the church and gave what little money she had to the minister. She incurred debts at the grocery store, the furniture store and the utility companies. Finally, her mother was able to join her. The money for her ticket was won at a Bingo game in Pago Pago and it was decided in the village by the family that she could be of great help to her eldest daughter and her family. With the mother's arrival there were ten people living in a three bedroom apartment.

Since Losa never kept the appointments

social workers and public health workers made for her at the clinic, she was always dealing with health and welfare issues when there was a crisis. None of the public agencies had bilingual Samoan speakers, so she was uncomfortable with the social workers. Once a fire caused them to move temporarily to the household of her cousins. Another time a neglected bladder infection cause the mother to be hospitalized for two weeks. She sent the baby of the family at age four back to Samoa to live with relatives because she was sickly and the grandmother was unable to care for her because of her own illness. One son was held in juvenile hall because he was picked up with four other Samoan boys hot wiring a car. For three days no one knew where he was until the minister was contacted by the Los Angeles police. After each crisis Losa felt more and more tense.

When WW II was declared, both of her older sons were drafted. Their wives and four babies stayed with Losa and her mother. The service allotment helped to ease the increased cost of living but the years were not kind to the family. Illness took two of the younger children of the eldest son; the four year old daughter sent to Samoa was killed in an automobile accident. The man Losa had lived with for awhile left with the younger son's wife after her second baby died. The remainder of the family moved almost continuously because of problems with landlords over the number of people, the condition of the house and the irregular payments.

FAMILY

When the boys returned from the war they both elected to stay in the service. One was stationed near Los Angeles, so the family moved nearby. During the next two decades Losa turned more and more of the household responsibility over to the children. She had one more child by a Samoan man she hoped to marry but who decided to return to Samoa after the war. This baby was the center of attention in the family when the boys came home and was treated more like their own child than a sibling.

In the Los Angeles area they were far from the church. Since neither Losa nor her mother could drive they were quite isolated from the rest of the Samoan community. Although the children worked and welfare supplemented their income, the family was still vulnerable to problems.

Illnesses were not cared for until they were serious. The teenagers dropped out of school as soon as they could. Losa did not insist they attend. There was little discipline and little routine in their lives. They did what they wanted to do, when they wanted to do it. While Losa and the grandmother provided for them, they were not in control of them.

The minister of the Samoan church came frequently to pick up their contributions but Losa's family became less active in church activities.

FAMILY

In 1965 her mother died, Losa was 55. She felt depressed, discouraged, and consequently withdrew into her bedroom appearing only for meals. The family was concerned but did not know what to do about it. Except for the two older boys who assumed leadership of the family, none of the other children within the family could speak or understand Samoan very well. This language barrier within the family further increased Losa's isolation. She turned to her Bible and consented to participate only in occasional Sunday services when the older boys and their wives attended.

These services had a lot of meaning for Losa personally but she declined to participate in her family affairs. When her eyesight began to fail she refused medical attention, and it was not until she had a heart attack and fell, breaking her arm, that it was discovered that she was legally blind. At 66 she was blind, suffering from obesity, diabetes, emphasema, and now a broken arm.

Local authorities tried to convince the family to permit her to be put in a nursing home but to no avail. They would take care of her as long as necessary. In spite of the multiplicity of her physical problems she, and they, insisted "home" was the best place for her. At 79 she was still with her family. The wife of the youngest son cared for her and for the infants and children of the three boys. One daughter moved away but there were still 13 people in this household.

FAMILY

Even with the combined military and social security benefits this family is economically still marginal and crisis upsets everything. Cars and TV's are repossessed occasionally, the school is in continuous contact with the family about the lack of attendance of one child or another. The school attendance officer admitted that he did not know for sure which child belonged to whom, since the names of the family reflect the closeness of the brothers and the children have been named after them including the grandfather's name and title.

In the middle of all this, Losa now sits in a highbacked overstuffed chair in the living room, listening to a TV she cannot see. The children play around her feet shouting in a language she just barely understands; her daughter-in-law prepares her meals including traditional taro, cooked bananas, chicken and palusami and gives her medication. Life has been difficult, but in spite of her handicaps she is happier now than she has been for many years because she feels her family is close and caring and her blindness shuts out the ugliness.

Iosua Toafa W.S.

Iasua
Toafa - ws.

REVIEW OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE INFORMATION

(QUANTITATIVE DATA)

REVIEW

REVIEW OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE INFORMATION

Description of Households

A sample of 85 households were completed within the five "gateway cities." Twenty-eight studies were done in Honolulu, 19 in San Francisco, 28 in Los Angeles, 2 in San Diego and 8 in Seattle. Approximately 700 people were included in the 85 households. Households averaged 7.7 people including parents, children, grandparents, as well as, other family members such as in-laws, uncles, aunts, cousins, nieces, nephews, and grandchildren.

In the first forty households interviewed, all were migrants who had emmigrated to Hawaii or the mainland during the previous 24 months (1976-1977). The residency criteria was expanded by the Committee during the second year of the study to include those who had migrated since 1973. It was felt by the interview committee that in order to get a broader cross section of Samoan family experiences, some of the families who had become settled should be examined. One factor apparent in the second group who had been in the United States longer was that they were not closer to their goal of better employment although many did feel they had found a better quality of education for their children. Those who had acquired jobs and adequate homes had then encountered with their teenagers all the problems all other peoples of the world seems to be experiencing.

REVIEW

Description of Households

Inability to acquire a job that will produce an adequate income for one's family is a national problem, as well as the number one Samoan problem. However, Samoans have a considerable handicap. With less than a high school education, 92% of the households interviewed indicated their adult members had elementary school educations or less. About 37% did have a high school education but it was so poor they still did not have marketable skills, coping skills for basic survival, nor English language communication ability (figure 9). It was no surprise then to find almost 70% of the members of households interviewed were without jobs or were underemployed (figure 8). Approximately 60% of the families were on public assistance rolls (figure 3) with incomes for an average family size of 7.7 people (figure 5) averaging about $800.00 per month (figure 4).

Figure 8 shows 52 of the 85 households interviewed had people employed full time (61%), but 65 of the households (77%) had people unemployed and not looking for work. Why these adults (16 years of age or out of high school) were not looking for work is a complex issue. For a small number(9.4%) the one reason was a need for child care but lack of education was referred to in over 50% of the interviews and lack of vocational or technical training in 65%. Still this does not tell the whole story; other migrant groups have come

to the United States, used public assistance to get started and then moved on making use of available adult and vocational educational opportunities.

One of the more disturbing reasons for the delay in acclimation to United States customs was put forth by a much respected Samoan physician and theologist. His concern was that many Samoans appear to hide behind a curtain of ignorance and, therefore, not become accountable for their behaviors. There is great pride within each Samoan personality-- pride that could once be justified in the life Samoans created from the jungle forests and lagoons of their homeland. That pride has been shaken because so many have been confronted with seeming insurmountable obstacles in trying to adopt a new way of life and become one with the Western World.

Now, in place of pride there is shame which limits initiative and motivation. There is a lack of accountability and sometimes even extreme antisocial behaviors including alcohol and drug abuse (22% of the households), child abuse and battered wives (9% of the households), fighting, gambling, arrests for major offenses (almost 29% of the households), other legal difficulties (30%), and over all, more than 66% of the households expressing feelings that they cannot or will not deal with the demands of their adopted homeland.

REVIEW

Public agencies attempting to assist in making the adjustment to mainland customs are finding it difficult to reach into the Samoan heart to stir an allegiance. (An informal adult class poll found Samoans ambivalent about becoming United States citizens because, in part, they believe they would then lose title and land in Samoa itself.)

Honolulu Social Services show Samoans on public assistance roles and AFDC assistance in disproportionate numbers to their population. They remain not months but years and add relatives rather than reduce family members. Housing offices in all five "gateway cities" are distressed because they cannot give adequate assistance in part because of the large families and also because many Samoan families disregard housing rules. Interviews with most public agencies did not find language a barrier because interpreters were generally available.

FIGURE 11

PROBLEMS IDENTIFIED BY FAMILIES INTERVIEWED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY REPORTED

IDENTIFIED PROBLEM	HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING	
	NUMBER	% (n=85)*
EMPLOYMENT, Un & Under	59	69.4
HEALTH, Mental, Physical	59	69.4
UNDERSTANDING U.S. CUSTOMS	56	66.0
VOCATIONAL SKILLS, lack of	55	65.0
INCOME, lack of or insufficient	54	63.6
LANGUAGE	48	56.5
HOUSING	44	52.0
EDUCATION, lack of	43	50.6
SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT	31	36.7
LEGAL DIFFICULTIES	26	30.6
TEEN/PARENT COMMUNICATIONS	21	25.0
TEEN/SCHOOL	21	25.0
ALCOHOL/DRUG ABUSE	19	22.4
FIGHTING/arrests for major offences	18	21.2
IMMIGRATION	9	10.6
CHILD CARE	8	9.4
ELDERLY	8	9.4
CHILD ABUSE/BATTERED WIFE	8	9.4
GAMBLING	6	7.6
DISCRIMINATION	5	5.9
HOME	5	5.9
OTHER	3	3.5
RECREATION	-0-	-0-

*PERCENTS DO NOT TOTAL 100 BECAUSE OF MULTIPLE REPLYS

REVIEW

Problems Identified by Families
(figure 11)

The problems identified by families fall into five subgroups:

1. Economic
2. Education and Training
3. Health Care
4. Family Issues
5. Legal Problems

The three most frequently identified problems in this report are unemployment or underemployment, health, including mental health, and the lack of understanding of the requirements for living among different cultures.

These issues are consistent with the writer's eight years of experience with American Samoans. In Samoa there has been little effective education or training for productive employment as it is known in the Western World. The coming of Anglos to Samoa disrupted the nutritional balance with the introduction of canned foods, and sweets and toxic substances such as harmful drugs and set the stage for alcohol abuse and chain smoking. Because Samoans lack understanding of the customs, rules, and regulations of a highly urbanized society, they are vulnerable to being taken advantage of, and open to disappointment because of unrealistic expectations, and thus victims of their own pride.

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Unemployment or underemployment, lack of vocational skills and lack of understanding of United States customs must be considered within the context of lack of motivation and limited educational preparation.

ECONOMICS

Throughout the studies, 69% of the households interviewed described the complications of low income and large families. Insufficient income presents a real problem for a large proportion of the population, and it is compounded for migrant groups due to the proportion of wage earners to minors.

However, the size of the Samoan family in actual numbers is somewhat misleading. A household reporting a greater than average number of people (which was 7.7 persons per family) often included anywhere from two to six working age adults who were not employed and indicated they were not looking for work because they were caring for dependent children or had no marketable skills.

During a specific period of time between 1979 and 1980, the San Francisco Office of Samoan Affairs attempted to locate individuals for several entry level professional jobs available within the State Employment Development Department. No Samoan candidates could be found even even though qualifications were minimal.

REVIEW

The language barrier was described by 56.6% of the households interviewed, as a problem. Some feel it is due to the isolation and to the fact that the first high school was not built until 1947.

The implication of not understanding is convenient. Pride, as indicated earlier, and professed ignorance are sometimes used to make the "system" manageable. At times different names were used which confused social agencies and prevented accurate tracking of assistance to dependent children (AFDC). Children are often "shared" within the larger family or household group and may contribute to other "families" eligibility. Some feel that by appearing not to understand rules and regulations one cannot be held responsible. To become knowledgeable about the English language would then carry the responsibility of abiding by the laws.

The Samoan writer, Albert Wendt, has written with refreshing directness and warm feelings for his culture. He has described through his characters the struggles to come to terms with the changing world. In the introduction to his book Flying Fox in a Freedom Tree, Flying Fox himself declares, "The papalagi and his world has turned us, and people like your rich but unhappy father, and all the modern Samoans into cartoons of themselves, funny, crying,

ridiculous shadows on the picture screen. Never mind, we tried to be true to ourselves. That is all I think any man with a club can do."

We are all feeling this helplessness. One social service agency administrator, a minority person himself, stressed the fact that his agency was able and willing to provide assistance to newcomers to help them become acclimated more quickly to their new home. He was distressed, however, by the lack of motivation to give up public assistance. Nowhere was he able to identify subtle nor obvious discrimination in employment or in educational facilities (Hawaii). There was evidence of a lack of reliability by Samoan employees as they began employment and a disinterest in furthering their academic or vocational education.

Several employment department branches in the different "Gateway Cities" reported efforts to offer opportunity for billingual training in preparation for job interviews, filling out forms, how to dress and basic work requirements, but few Samoans attended even when Samoan counselors initiated the contacts, offered bilingual support, transportation, and in the case of the Job Corps and CETA, funds for attending orientation sessions.

Samoan families also have communication problems with their teenagers (25% to 36% of the households interviewed listed school adjustment and dealing with teenagers as a problem. However, this percentage is not very different from middle class homes.

LEGAL MATTERS

Samoan families did have legal difficulties, including divorce, car theft, drug trafficking, as well as fighting, drunkeness, shootings, stabbings, wife beatings and child abuse, but over all these statistics were not greater for Samoans as a given population than for other ethnic groups.

A few Samoan families felt police to be lacking in respect, too quick to use physical force, including guns. These comments are not unlike citizen remarks from other urban trouble areas where police have gained reputations for being overly aggressive. Honolulu in particular has had a lot of experience with a variety of peoples. Their law enforcement system has had difficulty controlling Samoan groups or individuals when they become angry.

Attempts to use local Samoan leadership for assistance has not always been successful. The message that was apparent in reviewing responses from California, Hawaii, and Washington State Law Enforcement agencies was, that they were anxious to recruit

qualified Samoans to the force and to educate their people for consideration of some of the relevant cultural factors. However, few of the 85 households interviewed and none of the 20 or so interviewers felt negatively toward their local police.

There were two situations where there were misunderstandings about the qualifications necessary to become a policeman; an individual applied for a police job but did not know he needed a high school diploma and another time when the police could not, by law, release certain information about a case to other family members. There was a semantic problem between the police department and the Samoan inquiry which was later resolved.

HOUSING

Inadequate housing was reported by 52% of the households interviewed. Judging from data as to family size and income, it was surprising that it was not higher. Some family groups did not consider crowding a problem. (Studies of the effect of overcrowding and density on rural families living in urban areas show considerable increase in mental and physical problems, and in personal aggression and crime). In Samoa where many people still sleep on mats on the floor of a fale (house), many different people may sleep in one room.

However, in most cases the traditional fale does not have fixed walls. Other family functions used other space and allowed for considerably more individual space than the traditional European or American house built for a maximum family size of four or five.

Six households reported three to four people to a bedroom plus two to four people sleeping in the living room. This is where conflicts begin to arise with the Housing Authorities. Several Public Housing offices reported apparent disregard for rules and regulations.

Three Samoan families reported "problems" with the Housing office. They felt the "office" did not understand that making room for one's relatives is a cultural obligation. The "office" felt Samoans, more than any other group, abused the privilege of public housing by adding additional people permanently, or for extended stays, allowed the original "head of household," whose eligibility established their tenancy, to leave for extended, even permanent stay in Samoa, turning the apartment over to the other family members, and by not reporting total household income, (a general problem in public assistance housing). The laws do not permit Housing Authority to have latitude or special disposition in these matters.

One housing office hired Samoans and seeks counsel from local Samoan organizations

when there is need to mediate a problem. The life in Samoa did not prepare most people for the complexity of urban dwellings. As a consequence many do not know how to adequately care for appliances and utilities -- even cleanliness is difficult with so many people in such limited space.

Occasionally, angry retaliation from family feuds has resulted in wanton destruction of an apartment. Housing officials were anxious to find ways to communicate with all of their clients but many felt frustrated in their attempts because they had not been able to bring about any positive improvements.

HEALTH

Medical personnel tell a similar story. Over 69% of the households interviewed reported physical or mental health problems for themselves or members of their families. In twenty situations a health problem was one of the main reasons for emmigrating in spite of the fact that American Samoa has an excellent free Tropical Medical Center staffed by volunteer doctors primarily from the United States. The nurses there are predominantly Samoan women trained at the Nursing School on the Island.

Stateside families reported that between Medicare and Employment insurances, almost all had some form of medical coverage.

However, that is where the benefits stop, as having it and using it were two different matters. The majority who have used their medical insurance felt the hospitals and clinics provided adequate care. A few (2) felt they did not get appropriate attention and one family indicated the hospital personnel were "unfriendly." Only one large medical facility employed Samoan paraprofessionals. Few medical personnel knew where or how to get bilingual speakers to help with interpretation of care or instructions.

Medical personnel on the other hand were disturbed by their inability to persuade Samoans to follow their instructions and to keep appointments. Preventive care was described as almost impossible except for increasingly better coverage for children's immunizations due to school mobil units.

Follow up care was almost nonexistent. Interestingly enough, this was also true in Samoa. Few Samoans took the medicine given to them even when the rationale was interpreted in Samoan. Like many unsophisticated people, they were suspicious of modern drugs which resulted then in dealing with ailments on a crisis basis.

In Samoa the emergency ward of the LBJ Tropical Medical Center was always busy. In the United States this attitude caused complications because emergency services generally treat only real emergencies.

One situation, as described by an interviewer, said they could not receive help from the local hospital, when in truth the hospital tried to explain that a chronic backache was something that required a regular medical appointment and not emergency treatment.

Certain illnesses are appearing more frequently among Samoans. One study currently underway by Drs. Baker, Paulson and others, describes the effects of poor nutrition in diet plus twenty century tensions and pressures. At one time obesity, hypertension, ulcers, lung cancer, and rampant decay were problems for other parts of the world. Now Samoans are very much affected. A report from the Tropical Medical Center for 1978 lists lung cancer and heart disease as leading causes of mortality. (See Figures 34, 35, 36).

Samoans have always been portrayed as happy-go-lucky Polynesians living on an island paradise. Nothing could be further from the truth. The lack of personal health care both in Samoa and on the mainland is upsetting. In spite of access to good medical care, Samoans have shown a discouraging apathy toward preventative care.

Treatment of mental health problems is almost unheard of, even post natal care for expectant mothers is almost totally ignored. One case in point was an educated woman who disregarded her pregnancy until the third trimester, even then continually missed appointments and did not follow the doctor's advice about diet and care.

She lost the baby after a prolonged, agonizing attempt to give birth. She had given birth before and commented that she did not understand why this happened, concluding, "it was an act of God." Children are considered "Gifts of God" and because of this many families do not practice any sort of family planning.

The number of questions about health matters raised by the families interviewed made us look at health issues not only in American Samoa but also among other ethnic groups. For comparison we have included three figures taken from the American Indian, Alaska Study of 1977, DOIA. They are included for comparison with the data in excerpts from the American Samoan Health Care Chart Book. (Figures 12, 13, 14).

The death rate for American Indians and Alaskan natives by the motor vehicle range from 48.6% for those 30 years or older to 64% for those under thirty years of age. While Samoan mortality statistics in their report did not list automobile fatalities separately, a report by the Department of Motor Vehicles in Pago Pago in 1978 indicated there were more fatalities per mile driven in Samoa than anywhere else in the United States. Traumatic death in Samoa in 1977 accounted for 75.7% per 100,000 population. (Figure 34) The trauma deaths had exceeded heart disease deaths that had been the leading cause of death in 1974 to 1976 (see Figure 35). American Indians and

REVIEW

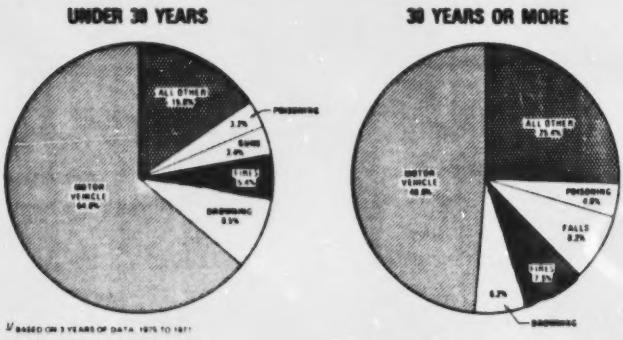
Alaskan natives also show a dramatically high incidence of alcoholism death rate, (figure 12) approximately 70% per 100,000 population compared to about 8% for the United States population. No breakdown could be found in Samoa nor for Samoans in the United States. However, the high incidence of traumatic deaths due to drunken driving as well as the excessively high incidence of cerebravascular disease leads one to conclude there is a relationship that should be explored.

Violence and acting out behaviors resulting in homicide, traumatic death and suicide are most prevalant among the twenty-five to thirty-five year old age bracket. This is as true among American Samoans as it is among American Indians and Alaskan Natives. (See Figures 12 & 13).

These figures reinforce the recommendations that research is needed to examine causal factors and high priority must be given to programs able to implement corrective measures. Beverage controls have been proven to be ineffective if personal attitudes and behaviors can not be affected. Todays changing life situations for the American Samoan, as for the American Indian and certainly for the Alaskan Native is traumatic in and of itself. It is no wonder alcohol, heart disease and motor vehicle deaths are claiming such high proportions of these fine people. The facts are known. Can we be strong enough as a human race to reverse this trend?

FIGURE 12

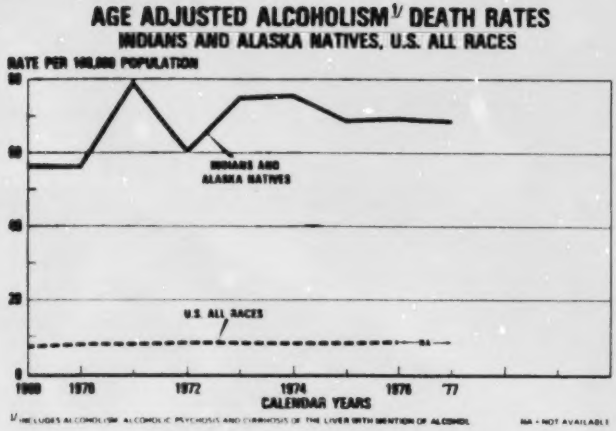
FIVE LEADING CAUSES OF ACCIDENTAL DEATHS
INDIANS AND ALASKA NATIVES BY AGE
AS PERCENT OF TOTAL 1/



1/ BASED ON 3 YEARS OF DATA: 1975 TO 1977

REVIEW

FIGURE 13



AGE SPECIFIC HOMICIDE, SUICIDE, AND ALCOHOLISM DEATH RATES

INDIANS AND ALASKA NATIVES, U.S. ALL RACES

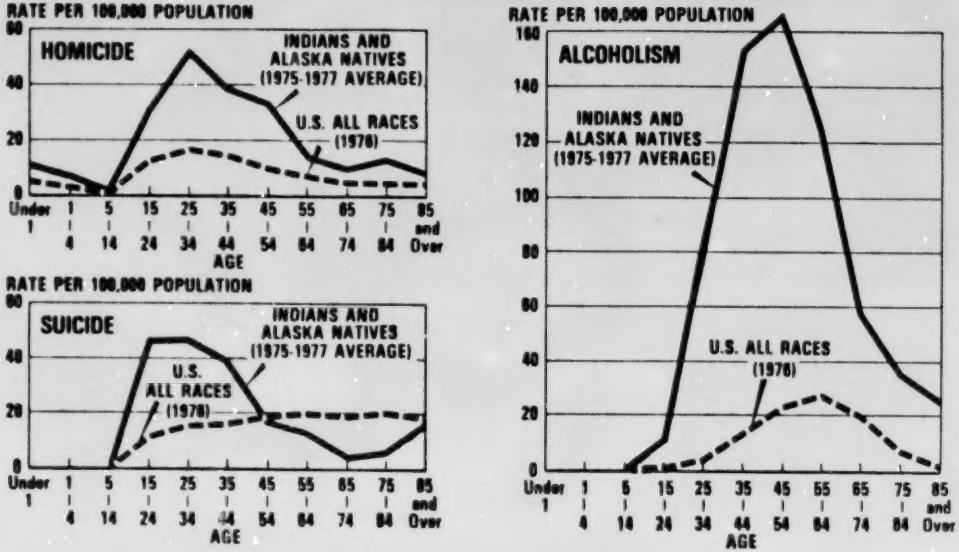


FIGURE 14

REVIEW

No comments about health issues in Samoa would be complete without reference to the work being done by Dr. Paul Baker and Dr. Leslie Lieberman of Penn State University, Dr. Guy Paulson at the University of California Medical Anthropology Program and Dr. Joel Hanna of the University of Hawaii Medical School.

A few comments and charts have been included here to give credence to our documentation of problems related to health. The frequency of obesity, hypertension and heart disease is increasing. This report makes an appeal to Samoan individuals, organizations, churches and government to take action now to reverse these trends. No health care facilities in the world are going to be able to repair the damage people are doing to themselves. Only personal pride, education and some governmental controls can effect necessary changes. It is not too late to start.

A descriptive study of Samoan migrants in Hawaii was carried out by a team of researchers from the Pennsylvania State University on Oahu from March through June, 1975. This team was under the overall supervision of Dr. Paul T. Baker of the Pennsylvania State University and Dr. Joel M. Hanna of the University of Hawaii Medical School. Staff members of the Pennsylvania State University aided in the development of research program. The research team consisted of post-

doctoral and pre-doctoral students from the Pennsylvania State University and the University of Hawaii. In 1979 the study was extended to include California.

The primary objective of the study was to explore some aspects of the health and well-being of Samoan children and adults. The project was focused on body weight gain, blood pressure, physical fitness, and fertility. It was intended as a pilot study for an expanded project. The medical aspects may be of particular interest because there is evidence of an increase in the frequency of obesity, hypertension and heart disease among other groups of Polynesians who have migrated from a traditional to a more highly industrialized society (Prior, 1971; Prior et al., 1974). The environmental factors causing this decline in health are still not known.

The brief tables and charts are intended to inform interested people of early observations from the study. Because the study was a pilot one with relatively small samples, conclusions should be considered as subject to modification as more information is collected.

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Blood Pressure

As part of the physical assessment in the household survey, resting blood pressure determinations were made on adults and children. Adult blood pressure for age and sex is near or below United States standards. There was a relatively low frequency of high blood pressure disease (hypertension) for either the systolic pressure (when the heart muscle is actively pumping), or the diastolic pressure (when the heart muscle is relaxed). The diastolic pressure was slightly elevated over United States standards but within the normal range. Lower blood pressures were found in older individuals (50-70 years) in contrast to the higher blood pressures generally observed with aging. Males had higher blood pressures than females.

Samoan children in Hawaii show a different picture. There is a clear increase in both systolic and diastolic blood pressures with increasing age. Although these blood pressures are within the normal range, the rapid increase among adolescents may indicate a trend toward high blood pressure in adulthood.

Children in Honolulu may have higher blood pressures than rural children and children born in Hawaii may have higher blood pressures than children born in Samoa.

The causes of high blood pressure are not known. Scientists (Stamler et al., 1967)

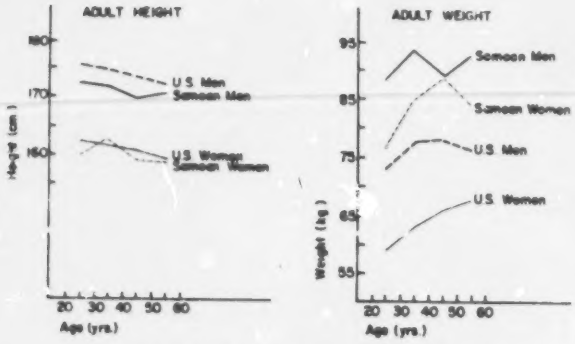
have suggested that diet, perceived psychological stress, genetic background and physical fitness may play roles in the production of hypertension. Many of these factors may have a significant impact on children or teenagers. Because Samoans are living lifestyles ranging from traditional (Western Samoa) to highly westernized (California and Hawaii), they are a very good population of people to study to try to define the cause of hypertension.

Polynesians as a group appear to be prone to hypertension. Recent reports have shown that hypertension and related heart diseases are becoming more prevalent in Hawaii and in American Samoa (Hawaii Department of Health, 1976; Department of Medical Services, American Samoa, 1976). Studies of Hawaiians have shown that a high frequency of adults are hypertensive. For example, Stokes et al. (1966) found that 76 percent of pure Hawaiian males (35-65 years) had elevated blood pressure (greater 140/90).

The investigators hoped that additional studies will further elucidate the changing and emerging picture of the causal factors and status of Samoan growth and development, physical fitness and health.

FIGURE 15

ADULT HEIGHT AND WEIGHT

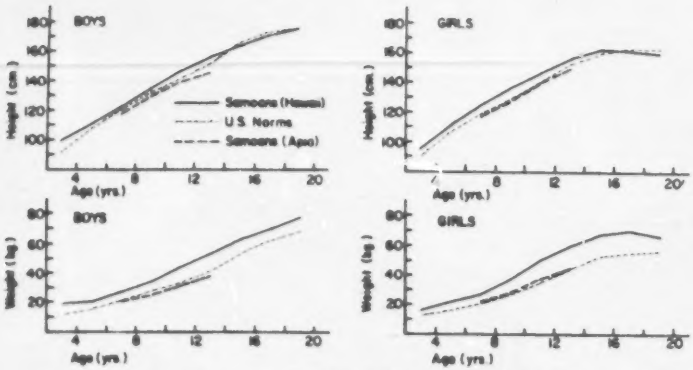


Comparison of patterns of height and weight for Samoan men and women living in Hawaii versus U.S. men and women

In summary, Samoan children are taller and weigh more than other groups of children that have been studied. Samoan adults are slightly shorter, but weigh more than the reported U.S. figures (NCHS, 1966). Both Samoan adults and children are fatter than the U.S. standards.

FIGURE 16

COMPARISON OF GROWTH PATTERNS OF CHILDREN



Comparison of growth patterns of height and weight for Samoan boys and girls living in Hawaii and Apia versus U.S. boys and girls

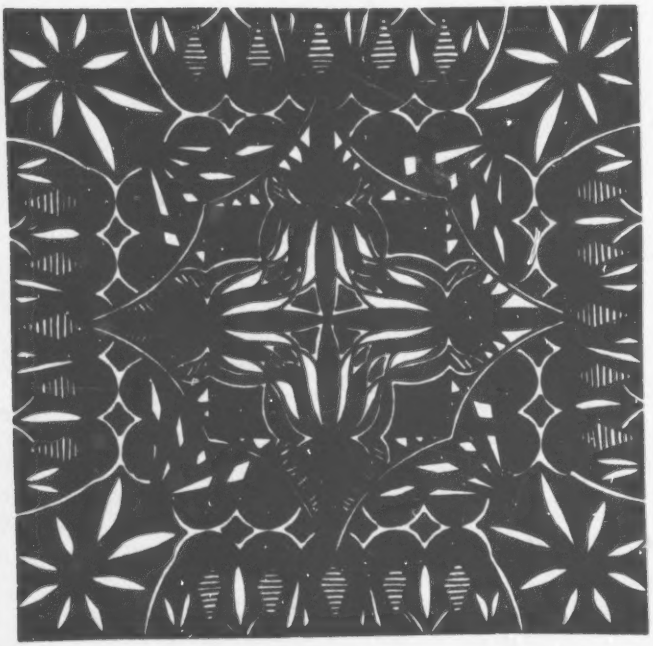
REVIEW

FIGURE 17

BLOOD PRESSURES OF SAMOAN CHILDREN IN HAWAII
COMPARED TO PUBLISHED U.S. STANDARDS

REVIEW

In summary, Samoan children are taller and weigh more than other groups of children that have been studied. Samoan adults are slightly shorter, but weigh more than the reported United States figures (NCHS, 1966). Both Samoan adults and children are heavier than the United States standards.



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EDUCATION

This then brings us to education or rather the lack of quality education in Samoa and the resulting problems for families when they migrate.

Lack of education was listed as a problem by 44% of the households interviewed. In this item individuals were referring primarily to their own inability to get a good paying job in the United States. Of the 86% reporting education for their children as one of the prime reasons for leaving Samoa, all but 20% found schools in the United States to their liking. However, over 36% reported school adjustment problems, and 25% reported teen school problems.

The schools themselves did not report special problems with Samoan children. As with other groups of limited English speakers, teachers wished more English could be spoken at home to reinforce the lessons taught at school. Samoan children for the most part were considered bright, pleasant, attractive, and elementary teachers interviewed generally seemed impressed with them.

At senior high school age the picture changed. Samoan youth were described along with others, as truant, and when attending, sullen, disinterested, unmotivated, unruly, disruptive, and with others, dropping out. Incidence of

teen pregnancy and veneral disease, was high among Samoan youths 14-19 years of age. Drug abuse is common. There was greater use of marijuana than heroin and in Honolulu some cocaine was used. Alcohol abuse and heavy smoking was much more frequently observed and of great concern to parents as well as educators.

School has not captured the imagination of most Samoan youth either in Samoa or in the United States. Indeed, even Samoans who received scholarships to college from American Samoa rarely complete their four year education.

Statistics are not available from the Department of Education in Samoa to verify this but few Samoan college graduates are available to fill positions where Samoan professionals are needed. There are few, if any, Samoans in medical or dental training, in scientific research, in engineering or technical fields nor in music or the arts. A relatively few educated Samoans are in Law and Education.

When Peter Coleman was elected as the first Samoan governor in November 1977, he spoke to the community college faculty saying he hoped to see this picture change during his administration and more Samoan youth moving into scientific fields since Samoa needed this so badly. As of this publication date, however, little has been accomplished.

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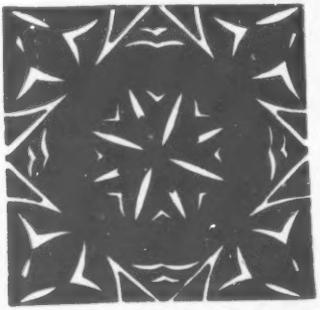
The Samoan schools are more than adequately funded in order to produce effective programs and strong English language skills. However, according to families interviewed, they feel the educational system lacks quality leadership and the Samoan community as a whole lacks motivation for learning. Some explained it as an attitude prevalent in Samoa that "tomorrow will take care of itself, live for today --and as long as Uncle Sam will pay the bill." There is some truth in this.

The free flowing funds and limited accountability has contributed to keeping Samoa as a territory dependent and immature. If Samoans are not educated, in the Western sense, they are not prepared to plan or think ahead so the United States Government does it for them.

Is it no wonder Samoans find transition to the competitive, pressure cooker world of the mainland a difficult one?



REVIEW

FIGURE 18

OCCUPATIONS

OCCUPATION	HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING	
	NUMBER	% (n=85)*
laborer	38	45.0
operator	17	2.0
service	13	1.6
craft	10	1.2
professional	6	.7
sales	4	.5
transportation	4	.5
clerical	3	.4
military	2	.2
*other***	37	44.0

*PERCENT DOES NOT TOTAL 100 DUE TO MULTIPLE RESPONSES

**"*other*" CATEGORY WAS SOMETIMES USED TO MEAN THE WORKING AGE PEOPLE IN THE FAMILY WERE UNEMPLOYED OR WORKING IN A CATEGORY THEY DID NOT KNOW HOW TO CODE *i.e.*: 2-SECURITY GUARD, 1-JOB CORPS, 1-BABYSITTER, 1-BOUNCER, 1-AMERICAN SAMOAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE SCHOLARSHIP.

OCCUPATIONS REPORTED FOR ADULT WAGE EARNERS
(see Figure 18)

The greatest number of Samoan households interviewed (45%) indicated their wage earners were employed as laborers. However, 44% used the category "other" which upon analysis seemed to indicate either unemployment or work as a security guard (2), in the Job Corps (1), as a baby sitter (1), bouncer (1), and in one case, on an American Samoan Community College scholarship.

Other occupations reported included seventeen households where people either worked in factories, handled machinery or were doing piecework. Another thirteen households reported people in various service positions such as child care or community center aides, janitorial or fast food restaurant and domestic work. The ten households reporting craft work included those doing auto mechanics, maintenance and repair of factory machinery, welding, tire repairing and shipyard work.

Six individuals were classifed as holding professional positions. One was teaching part-time, two serving as nurse's aides in convalescent hospitals, one an unemployed teacher looking for a position.

In four households persons were employed in small stores and one as a clerk in a supermarket. Four households said members

worked as bus or delivery truck drivers. Three households reported people in clerical positions such as typists and clerks. Two households listed people living at home but their job was in the military.

There was no accurate appraisal of the number of people in the military as related to these 85 families. However, based on experiences with families in Samoa, it appeared that three out of every four households had someone in the military.

A number of households reported family members unable to pursue the work they had done in Samoa because they could not meet Stateside qualifications, (particularly certification). These occupations included teachers, and a principal, an airport and city fireman, a policeman, storekeeper, nurse, heavyduty equipment operator, shipyard worker and a preschool teacher.

Only two households reported individuals attending adult or vocational training to require a marketable skill or to meet specific qualifications.

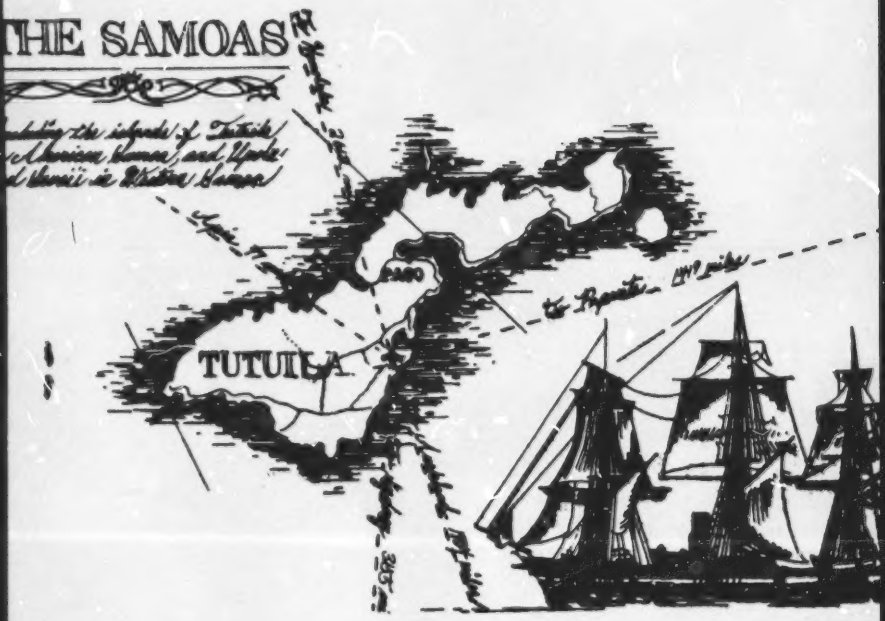

THE SAMOAS
TUTUILA

FIGURE 19

INCOME SOURCES

INCOME SOURCE	HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING	
	NUMBER	% (n=85)
welfare/public assistance	49	57.6
employment	43	50.5
social security/or family contribution	36	42.3
military	15	17.6
retirement	3	.4
disability	3	.4

REVIEW

INCOME SOURCES REPORTED
(Figure 19)

The single greatest income source for Samoan households was from various forms of public assistance (57.6%). Most families had more than one source of income. It was not uncommon to find households with Aid to Dependent Children, Old Age and Survivor Insurance (Social Security), food stamps, full-time and part-time employees, contributions from other family members both in the United States and in Samoa, funds from sons and daughters in military service, from retirement (either from the American Samoan Government or from private industry), and some families also received payments for a disabled person.

Almost as many households receiving public assistance aid also reported employment among the members (50.5%). Another 42.3% received social security benefits as well as family contributions. 17.6% received contributions from the family in the military and only .4% received retirement or disability payments.

FIGURE 20

MONTHLY INCOME

INCOME RANGE**	HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING	
	NUMBER	% (n=85)
Under $100	-0-	-0-
100 - 199	-0-	-0-
200 - 399	1	1.0
400 - 599	7	8.0
600 - 799	29	34.0
800 - 999	15	18.0
1,000 - 1,250	12	14.0
1,251 - 1,500	9	10.5
1,501 - 2,000	4	.5
2,000 +	8	.9
total	85	

**DOLLAR FIGURES WHEN REPRESENTING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE USUALLY INCLUDES FOOD STAMP VALUE

REVIEW

APPROXIMATE MONTHLY INCOME TOTALS
(Figure 20)

This chart illustrates income ranges and distribution among the 85 households interviewed. The median reported income would fall betwen $800 and $1,000 per month. This figure probably includes food stamp allowances as well, although inconsistent reporting on this matter made it somewhat difficult to estimate.

Almost one quarter of the households interviewed had incomes from $1,000 to $2,000 or more per month. However, these sums are estimates and one must keep in mind the large number of people who contribute in different ways as well as the large number of dependents.

The Samoan migrants to the United States are not without resources but due to lack of familiarity with an inflated cash economy and inexperience in planning, they run out of funds and then need to seek public assistance in one form or another. The dependency upon welfare could be anticipated due to stateside costs of living and the large number of children in a given household. Unfortunately, the dependency continues because the unskilled labor market is already saturated and little attempt is made to upgrade or develop marketable skills.

FIGURE 21

NUMBERS OF PERSONS IN A HOUSEHOLD

RANGE (no. of persons)	HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING	
	NUMBER	% (n=85)
3 - 4	8	.9
5 - 6	21	25.3
7 - 8	24	28.2
9 - 10	8	9.0
11 - 12	14	16.5
13 - 14	5	.6
15 - 18	5	.6

MEDIAN = 7.7 (PER FAMILY)

REVIEW

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN A HOUSEHOLD
(Figure 21)

Less than one percent of the households interviewed fit the so called American "average" family size of three to four people. 53% of the households included between five and eight people and another 25% of the households had between nine and twelve people. It is no wonder housing was mentioned by 52% of the families as a problem. In fact, it is perhaps a commentary on the stoicism of Samoans to be able to live together under such crowded conditions. Actually the large number of people under one roof are not necessarily "immediate family."

Following a major expectation of the culture, no Samoan will turn away another Samoan, or friend, if they are in need of a place to live. Obviously, this causes problems since over 50% of the household are in public housing. Eight was the average number of people in a household and ten households had between thirteen and eighteen people living together.

There is a considerable amount of mobility among Samoan families. The numbers in this report reflect a specific time in the life of these particular households. A week later some people may have returned to Samoa to visit or stay, some may leave to get married, join the service, go to

college or some may have purchased their own house or found another apartment. It is difficult to estimate how long any one household group remains together under such intense living conditions. From some school interviews there were comments from counselors that teenage children and young adults were uncomfortable and anxious to move when living conditions were crowded. The desire for privacy is a request coming from many young families.

FIGURE 22

RANGE OF AGES IN HOUSEHOLDS INTERVIEWED

AGE RANGE	YEARS OF BIRTH	HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING	
		NUMBER	% (n=85)
0 - 4	- 1976	47	55.0
5 - 11	1969 - 1977	66	77.6
12 - 15	1963 - 1968	42	49.4
16 - 19	1961 - 1964	41	48.2
20 - 25	1955 - 1960	25	29.4
26 - 35	1945 - 1954	13	15.3
36 - 45	1935 - 1944	38	44.7
46 - 55	1925 - 1936	27	31.7
56 - 65	1915 - 1924	18	21.0
66 - 69	1911 - 1914	5	.6
70 - 79	1901 - 1910	4	.4
80 - 85	1895 - 1900	3	.4

REVIEW

RANGES OF AGES IN HOUSEHOLDS INTERVIEWED
(Figure 22)

Of the eighty-five households interviewed, almost 78% had children between the ages of five and eleven. Almost half of the households included teenagers between the ages of twelve and nineteen. Another 55% had children ranging from a few months to four years of age.

The adult average age was between thirty-six and forty-five in about 45% of the households. Almost 30% of the households included young adults between the ages of twenty and twenty-five.

In about one-third of the households the adults were between forty-six to fifty-five years of age and in another 25% they were between fifty-six to sixty-five. Twelve households or only 1.5% reported adults sixty-six to eighty-five years of age. This was fewer elderly than were expected.

From these age categories a number of conclusions can be drawn in terms of the transition process. The large number of young children and teenagers is consistent with the population report released in 1977 by the L.B.J. Tropical Medical Center in American Samoa. It is also consistent with the information given by family members as to one of their reasons for moving --the need for better education for their children.

REVIEW

Prior discussions have commented on the number of people in a given house. Upon examining these age ranges it is evident how difficult it must be to manage such a household. The lack of space and privacy may well be a contributing factor to some of the physical and emotional problems of teenagers described in this report.

Young children are cared for by older children. A greater number of adults can mean a greater income, but of course, also a greater drain on resources. From the number of young people in the sampling it is evident the Samoan population is rapidly increasing. The Samoan birth rate is twelve times that of the United States. The number of young and middle age adults underscore the need for vocational training programs as well as employment and English language training opportunities.

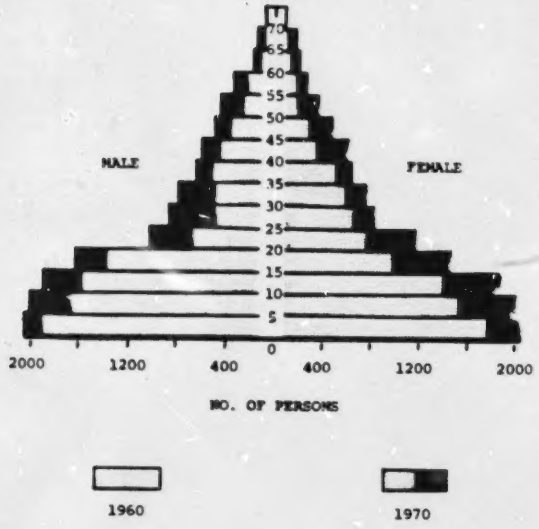
While the older people are not in great numbers in the households interviewed, they are in great need of emotional support because the traditional role the elders play in the Samoan family has been eroded. This changing role and break down in traditional relationships is another one of the reasons why some of the families have immigrated.

Figures 23, 24 and 25 provide some dramatic illustrations of the Samoan population in Samoa in comparison with the United States.

REVIEW

FIGURE 23

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF
AMERICAN SAMOA POPULATION
1960 AND 1970

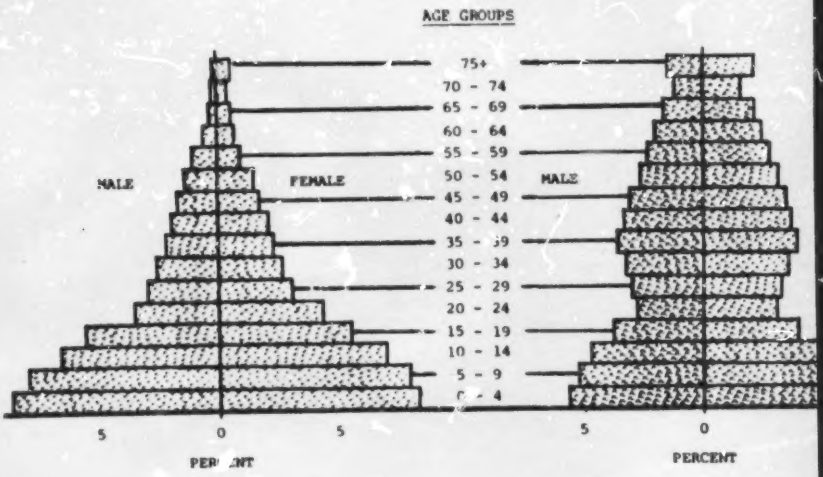


SOURCE: Population Statistics of American Samoa: A Report to the Government of American Samoa, Park, Chai Bin, July 15, 1972.

FIGURE 24

COMPARATIVE AGE DISTRIBUTION
AMERICAN SAMOA AND U.S.A.

AMERICAN SAMOA U.S.A.



REVIEW

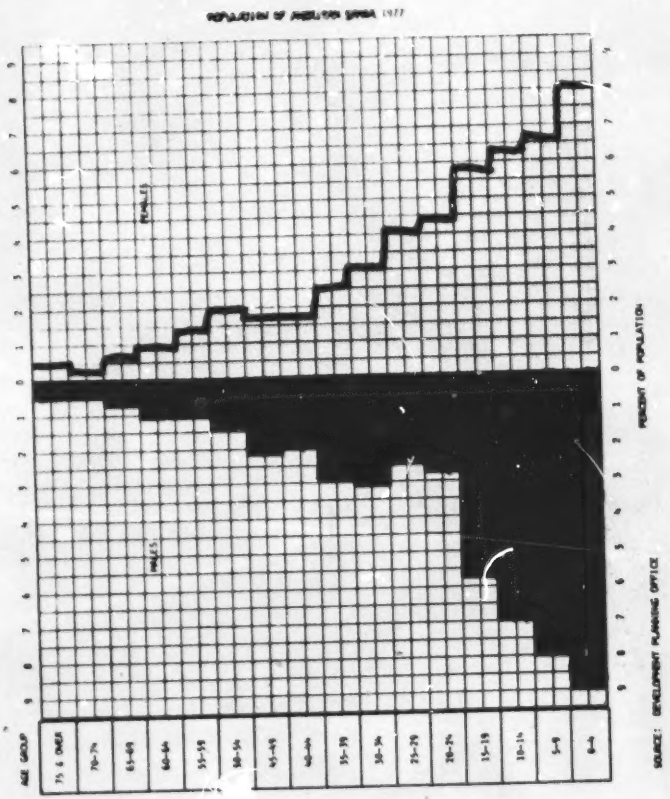
A population pyramid illustrating the population of American Samoa in 1960 is indicated by the light dotted area and 1970 by the light dotted area plus the dark areas at both ends of each age group. (Figure 23).

The population pyramid may be read as follows: In 1960 there were approximately 1,760 females and 1,920 males aged 0-5 years old in the population as indicated by the longest light dotted horizontal bar. In 1970 there were approximately 1,200 females and 1,000 males aged 20-25 years old as indicated by the light dotted bar plus the black ends which in this particular case lies between the numbers 20 and 25 on the center of the vertical column of ages. The approximate size of the other age groups of males and females can be similarly compared for the years 1960 and 1970.

Figure 24

These two population pyramids of American Samoa and the United States can be compared by age group and by sex. The size of the age groups are indicated by percent of the total population rather than by actual numbers of persons. The United States has a much older population.

FIGURE 25



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REVIEW

FIGURE 26

COMPOSITION OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY

FAMILY COMPOSITION	HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING	
	NUMBER	% (n=85)
children	84	99.0
two parents	83	97.6
in-laws	21	25.0
grandparents	10	1.2
nieces/nephews	9	1.1
single parent	8	.9
cousins	8	.9
grandchildren	8	.9
uncles/aunts	7	.8
others	6	.7

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REVIEW

COMPOSITION OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY
(Figure 26)

A composite of the Samoan family household in this study would include two parents, four to six children and two other adults, either brothers and sisters of the parents or other relatives.

Only a small percent had grandparents living with them (10 households) but in-laws, nieces, nephews, cousins, uncles and aunts and grandchildren were common. There may have been some confusion in the interviewers tally as to which relationship was being described, but the fact remains that the Samoan family does include an extended family concept.

The degree of the extension described earlier undergoes some changes when transported to the mainland. These changes are primarily related to economics and housing availability. The strength of the family unit is still visable for the most part although pressures of the urban society, especially upon the teen age and young adults, are causing some negative side effects such as runaway youth, homeless pregnant young women and no "foster homes" available.

FIGURE 27

EMPLOYMENT STATUS REPORTED BY ADULTS IN 85 HOUSEHOLDS

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING	
	NUMBER	% (n=85)
unemployed, not looking	65	77
employed full time	52	61
unemployed, looking	31	36
retired	19	22
employed part time	12	14
disabled	-0-	-0-

REVIEW

EMPLOYMENT STATUS REPORTED BY ADULTS
(Figure 27)

In the 85 households, 77%, were unemployed and not looking for work. This included mothers of young children, as well as other members of the household. Sixty-one per cent of the members of these households were employed full time and 36% were unemployed and looking for work.

This sample included about 675 people and it was not possible to know how many individuals each category represented.

Many people interviewed expected "to go to work soon," or were "changing jobs," and "temporarily out of work." With the limited job skills and a casual attitude toward work, Samoans find themselves unable to compete on the job market with other migrant groups. Motivation was discussed earlier and may be the key to opening new opportunities for employment along with business and government recognizing the potential of Samoan contributions.

It was believed some households included some disabled adults but the tally did not confirm this. This should not, however, be construed to mean that they did not exist. Most probably there was some reluctance to acknowledge their presence to the interviewer.

REVIEW

FIGURE 28

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING	
	NUMBER	% (n=85)
elementary school	41	48.0
high school, some	58	68.0
no formal education	41	48.0
high school or GED diploma	32	37.6
Faifeau School (ministers)	27	32.0
college, some or technical school	17	2.0
vocational or technical training	6	.7
graduate school	4	.5

REVIEW

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
(Figure 28)

Less than 4% of the sample population had vocational, technical education, college or graduate school training. Over one third did have high school or a GED diploma, but 48% had only elementary school education, 68% had some high school and 48% had no formal education. 32% listed the Faifeau school (minister's school), which was the original formal type of education in the islands.

While professing to be concerned about education as a means of self-improvement and economic benefit, few adults have taken advantage of adult education classes. Unlike some other immigrant populations, they find it difficult to expose their weaknesses to conventional class situations such as the English as a Second Language Program. In spite of extensive community resources in this area, Samoan young people have not demonstrated great motivation for any complex learning.

Although Samoa provides approximately 100 scholarships for high school youth each year to mainland colleges, few graduate. There are few professionals in the field, a few writers and artists but in general Samoans have not pursued academic fields.

Teaching, counseling, social work and law have attracted the greatest number of Samoans and a few have been attracted to music and dance.

FIGURE 29

CURRENT EDUCATIONAL STATUS

EDUCATIONAL STATUS	HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING	
	NUMBER	% (n=85)
not a student	82	96.4
student full time	71	84
student part time	14	16

REVIEW

CURRENT EDUCATIONAL STATUS
(Figure 29)

Of the 85 households reporting, 96.4% included people who were not students at all. Eighty-four per cent reported some students at all levels of education and 16% included part-time students.

Many households did not send their five year olds to kindergarten because they were afraid for them. Even some children six and seven years of age were not attending elementary school because their parents did not insist they attend when they expressed unhappiness or fear. However, for the most part families were supportive of the schools and anxious for their children to do well. The drop out rate for Samoan youth age 12 and older was high. More than 60% of the teenagers left school before completing high school. Social problems were listed as the main reason along with the inability to grasp the work. Lack of support from the school was also a major factor in some situations.

AMERICAN SAMOA

The guest house of a high chief where village leaders meet on Sunday after attending the Christian church of their choosing.

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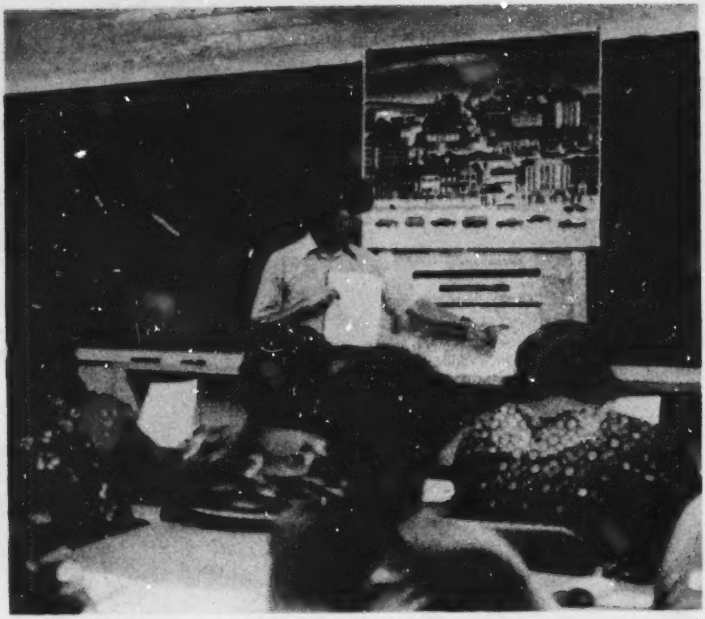
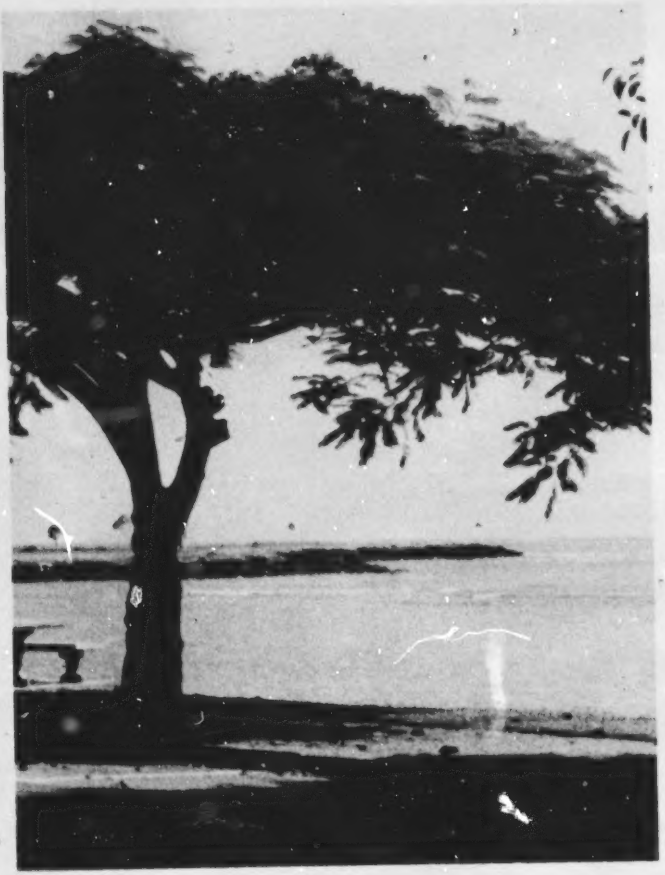


ADULT EDUCATION CLASS

Pago Pago American Samoa 1978

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE



THE FUTURE

What does the future hold for American Samoans in America? The data collected on this transition period describes a once proud people now trading much of their cultural heritage for twentieth century materialism. A mutual frustration was apparent between the newcomers and their adopted land. Unlike the early immigrants to America in the 1800's who rolled up their sleeves and farmed or worked in the new factories taking pride in savings and building for the future, Samoans have come expecting they will be taken care of by the government, possibly a substitute for the Matai. Few have made an attempt to prepare themselves for this move and few pursue development of skills once they are here. The preponderance of evidence indicated Samoans expected the government to provide for their every need.

The interviews tell a story of pain and discord, of pride and rejection, of chaos and confusion. The conclusion of the report must therefore, propose some concrete ideas that could have both short and long term effect on migrant peoples and reduce the agony of this transition period. As one eminent Samoan reviewer has put it, "this is a two pointed challenge for the churches and the educational system." In seeking guidance from the research of others, David Niven's book The American Touch in Micronesia provided information that bore a striking resemblance to the problems American Samoans were experiencing.

FUTURE

Samoans continue to migrate in ever increasing numbers. America is a vague, attractive potential solution to all the social and economic ills, but the mainland is not as it is presented on the television screen. The mainland is neither as idiotic as some programs would portray but neither is it as sane a civilization as one might hope for this period in the Twentieth Century.

We obviously cannot return to "the old subsistence economy dependent upon a communal approach." How can the education become consistent with the economic needs? The acceleration of the population alone would be a factor in preventing any return to the simpler times.

What kind of a real future will circumstances allow Samoa to make and what roles shall churches, health services, public and private sector education play in helping to bring that about? People who are cut off from their island life of the past and then also from the tangible materialistic fables held out to them as symbols of the new world feel frustration which manifests itself both in anger, striking out, and in apathy.

Was the "gift of the democratic idea in a modern world context" as Niven calls it for Micronesia, an equal disaster for American Samoa? American dollars have become the unreal model and they do not necessarily relate to the capacities of the people involved.

FUTURE

Some of the apathy we observed may be that the changes have come to Samoa "without pressure to respond to it in real ways". The change has been rapid, as it was in Micronesia. From small villages to urban centers, from subsistance to cash, from dictatorship to democracy, from subservience to self assertion, from communal to individual, from old customs to new desires, "a created society rather than one that evolves" and because of this, "a vision that is not indigenous but of the creators and its effect is to block the society that might have evolved in reponse to change had it been free to do so -- perhaps a reason that despite the increasing dissatisfaction of people, no new forms seem to be developing."

Those within the culture are dissatisfied as well. Dissatisfied with their jobs, resentful toward schedules, routines, accountability, productivity. Niven and others comment, "They, the Micronesians, were lifted falsely to a level where they cannot compete on their own merits." This statement is as appropriate for American Samoa as it was for Micronesia.

Dr. Robert Fisher, the first mental-health director in Micronesia, wrote for Nivens book the following statement. His observations were chilling:

"... a lot of problems associated with identity-- the process by which young persons sort out who they are -- mostly through modeling... in old Micronesia the

models were clear -- emotional relationships obvious -- so were authority figures. U.S. Government Administration broke up social contacts, reduced the biological value system-- the extended family-- and we now have emasculated chiefs. The chiefs say, when they were in charge they had things in control. Now there is no control and they cannot cope... kids have switched models, out of their own culture to those of the West -- they expect those now in control to have the answers-- we have the money, the new way-- yet they can't shape value systems from the distorted picture they get of Americans-- in effect we've created a void and made it hard for kids to learn how to live... Identity problems show themselves in stress, internal or external, often violence and misbehavior... alcohol abuse is amazing, even just the plain consumption of alcohol is amazing-- especially true in district centers where people seem cut off from real life. Micronesians usually drink to get drunk, not to facilitate social intercourse. Micronesians who succeed also have serious problems of ulcers, hypertention, alcohol abuse. Major mental disorders are as common as on the mainland or anywhere else in the world--"

Dr. Fisher's commentary has application to American Samoa today. Instead of anthropological research as has been done for so long, Samoa now needs Samoan practitioners in the field of psychiatry and psychology to provide this kind of insight about the current happenings in

FUTURE

Samoa. American Samoans seem unable to realize their full potential. There are some social and environmental factors which inhibit growth and satisfaction of basic human needs. Progress for the Samoan community must be based upon removing these obstacles.

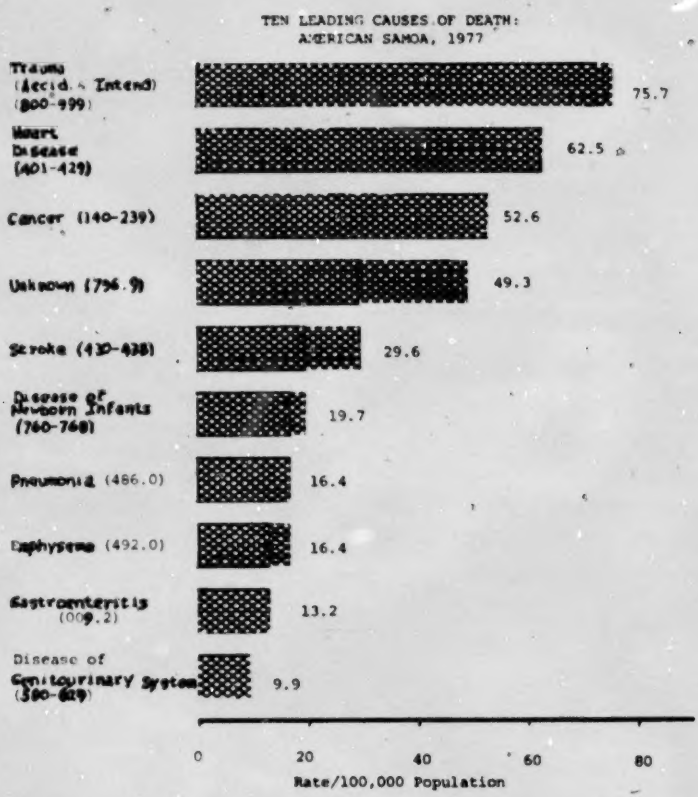
Figure 30

This chart ranks the ten leading causes of death in American Samoa in 1977 by selected categories of death rates. The ICDA numbers indicate the diseases included in each category.

The chart is read as follows: In 1977, trauma tops the list of causes of death in the territory with ICDA code 800-999 which includes fractures, dislocations, sprains, adverse effects of chemical substances, and various other injuries due to external causes. These external causes (E807-E995) include transport and nontransport accidents like road traffic accident, hanging, etc. Trauma has a rate of 75.7 deaths per 100,000 persons in American Samoa in 1977.

The chart ranks the average causes of death in American Samoa for the years 1974-76. It indicates heart diseases which accounted for 21.8 percent of all deaths as the number one cause of death over this period. Trauma with 14.8% and cerebravascular diseases with 9.9% of all deaths rank second and third respectively according to this list of causes. The rankings in 1977 and the average of 1974-76 both identify heart diseases and trauma as the two leading causes of death.

FIGURE 30



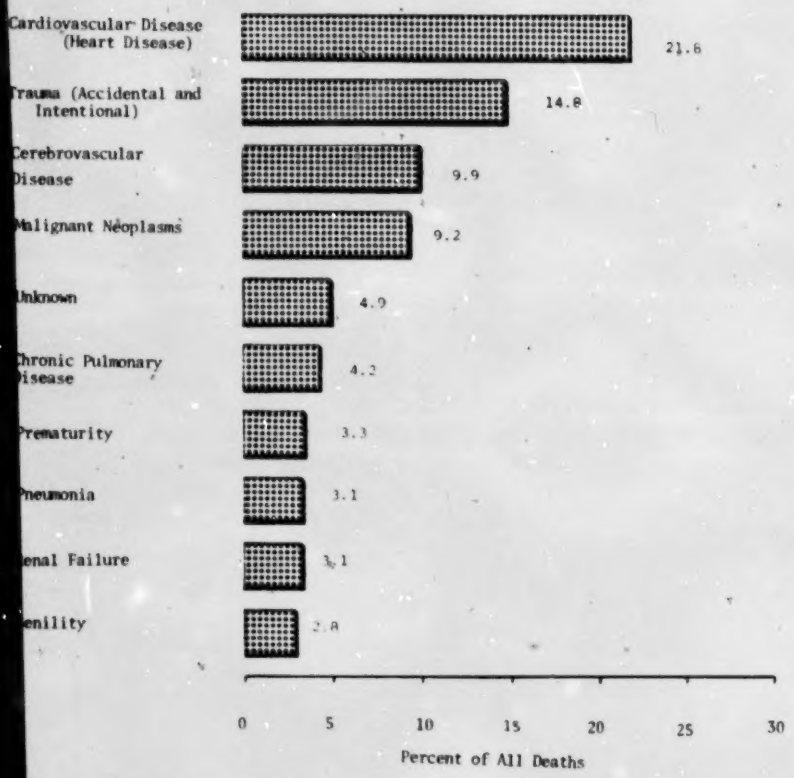
SOURCE: Medical Records Office, LBJ Tropical Medical Center, Causes Of Death Report And Categorized By Dr. Beck, Pathologist.

NOTE: The Number Listed In Parentheses Are ICDA Codes Of Each Disease Group.

FUTURE

FIGURE 31

TEN LEADING CAUSES OF DEATH: 1974 - 1976



ource: Health Planning Office, From Medical Records Causes of Death Reports, 1974-1976, Compiled June, 1977, Director SHPDA.

FUTURE

FIGURE 32

The chart compares the age specific death rates from cerebravascular diseases for the United States and American Samoa. The rates for American Samoa are average rates of the years 1972-76. The United States rates are for the year 1975 only. The chart indicates that the relative risk of dying from cerebravascular diseases in American Samoa for any specific age group over 35 years is anywhere greater than in the United States for the same age group.

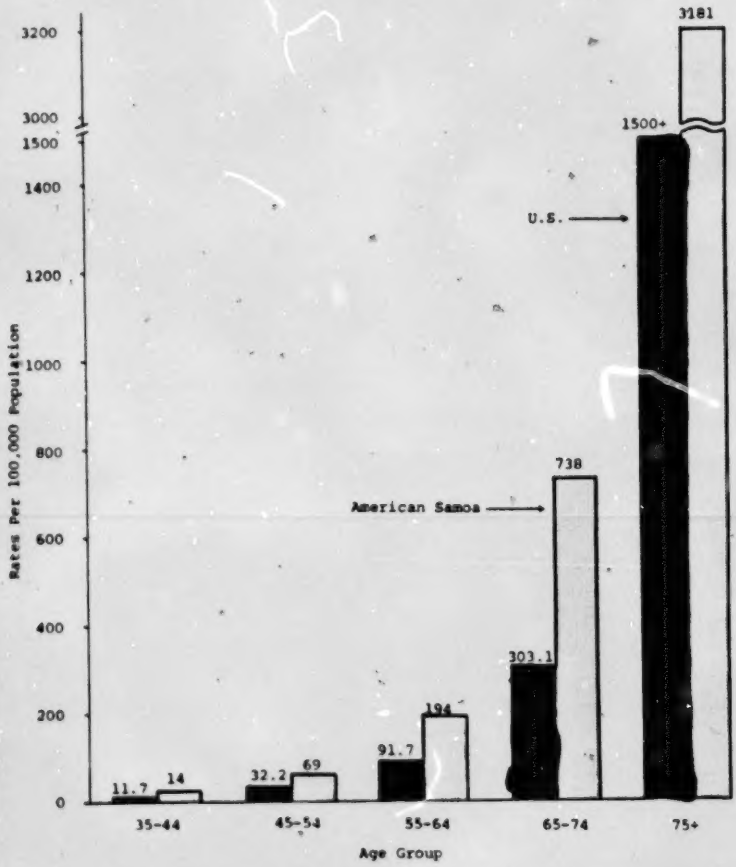
The chart is read as follows:

During the five year period 1972-1976, and average of 194 persons per year, aged 55-64 years, died of cerebravacular disease in American Samoa, for every 100,000 persons in the average population of the same age group, while in the United States, 92 persons aged 55-64 years died of the same disease per 100,000 population in the same age group in 1975.

FUTURE

FIGURE 32

AGE-SPECIFIC DEATH RATES/100,000 POPULATION,
Due To Cerebrovascular Disease, American
Samoa, 1972-76, Compared with U.S.A.,1975



Source: Health Planning Office, From Medical Records Death Reports, 1972-76, LBJ Hospital Monthly Vital Statistics Reports,Final Mortality Statistics, 1975, NCHS, Vol.25, No.11, 1977

FUTURE

Maslow described six basic human needs that transcend national, racial and cultural boundaries. While these needs may be met in different ways, they still must be satisfied. The basic needs are:

1. Physical care, adequate food, water, sex

2. Security - safe, orderly environment

3. Love and sense of belonging, giving and receiving

4. Feeling of personal worth, self esteem

5. Opportunity to be useful, self actualization

6. Beauty, aesthetic environment, religion, music

The first obstacle for more adequate physical care will come when Samoans can compete on the job market. Security will then also be improved because living conditions will improve. The sense of belonging will increase as families become interested in their new communities and become productive contributors as well. Once the economic barriers are reduced, Samoans will have proven they are creative successful people.

FUTURE

For a more optimistic future for our new American Samoan neighbors, the following recommendations were made:

GENERAL

1. First and foremost, as for any person today, Samoans themselves must take responsiblity for their own lives, their own actions, their own futures, and young Samoans must apply themselves to studies in the human and scientific professions to help build the cultural bridges that are necessary.

2. Following that thought, individuals must realize that in order to compete for jobs, for housing, for recognition, one has to become competent in a marketable skill area, limit one's immediate family to a number that can be properly housed according to current laws and regulations, contribute in such a way as to help improve the quality of life for all concerned.

This recommendation although drafted for the report, is as applicable to any group beginning a new relationship. Some of the responsibility for easing the transition rests with the new community, but the major acclimation will have to be done by themselves. We may wish society was kinder in its welcome to "strangers" but historical observations of new groups show it is not so.

Ethnic recognition, so called "political clout," will come as Samoans begin to be known for their positive contributions.

FUTURE

The following eight recommendations are based on the primary issues identified by the household interviews.

They are not new or revolutionary and although some may say they have been done, it is obvious they have not been done adequately.

1. English language skills must be taught within the context of vocational education so an individual can complete a course of study, have a marketable skill and a command of English.

Although Adult Education has offered instruction in basic, intermediate, and advanced levels, the teaching methods and curriculum utilized in the program are based on English as a second language materials. Only highly motivated individuals complete such studies.

Two more effective approaches have been observed.

1. To teach English as a part of a vocational skill.

2. To teach English through the areas of greatest interest to the student and stress coping skills. Excellent materials are now available in Health, Occupational Skills areas, Understanding of Government and Law, Consumer Education, and Use of Transportation and Community Resources. (APL program developed by the University of Texas for Adult Basic Education.)

FUTURE

It is recommended that the Government of American Samoa give priority to a national program of upgrading adult English language skills specifically in terms of relating them to vocational and employment objectives.

That state governments direct their Adult Education programs to sponsor special bilingual outreach programs to the Samoan community and acknowledge the different cultural approaches to learning.

That the Samoan churches undertake a substantial campaign to encourage their people to attend English classes and work toward a proficiency in the language and customs of their adopted land. It is important to underline the fact that the Samoan language need not be lost but the strength of the people will be greater to retain their culture if they are able to better cope with the new society and become productive workers within it instead of dependents upon it.

FUTURE

2. A bilingual on-the-job training effort from Federal Vocational Education funds in trades that reward the use of one's hands, such as carpentry, construction, electrical work, auto mechanics, and plumbing is needed. A partnership with unions to encourage minority participation and placement must begin.

2. Vocational Training

A bilingual approach to teaching skills for a realistic job market is necessary. Actual on the job instruction with supervision is necessary as well as role playing of job interviews, requirements for appearance, completion of forms, expected work behaviors and interpersonal relations.

It is recommended that the American Samoan Government examine current vocational opportunities for adults in Samoa and revise such training opportunities to become more in line with realistic job market requirements. For example, Department of Labor surveys show a demand for secretarial and accounting skills, computer programmers, auto mechanics, auto body workers, factory workers. In other words, Samoans need to be encouraged to accept that there is dignity in working with one's hands. A desk job should not be the only goal. Technicians are needed in science and medicine. Incentives for study in these fields must be encouraged.

FUTURE

The business and industrial community as well as trade unions must become partners in the development of any skill training so that placement is realistic. Not only can a skill be taught but also the intangibles of dependability, self-reliance, initiative, interpersonal relations. We must make this so attractive that people will be eager to try it.

Refugees paroled into the U.S. by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) are provided skill and language training. For example, Vietnamese were placed in a variety of occupations. Samoans because of their lack of adequate prior preparation for this transition need the same kind of priority for training. The federal funds for these special programs must take the Samoan population into account, and the programs must be administered by those who understand Samoan people.

It is critical that Federal and State funding be made available on a regular basis for maintenance of an Office of Samoan Affairs or similar organization for the purpose of strengthening the capability for a self-help network. The American Samoan Government needs to review attitudes toward the migration and make consistent contributions to the basic funding.

FUTURE

The Office of Samoan Affairs (OSA) and other Gateway City organizations must be recognized as official bodies with the capability to communicate effectively with the Samoan community both in the States and in Samoa. That is not to imply that they speak for all Samoans, but they are in a position to transmit information quickly and accurately to newcomers.

It is recommended that organizations like OSA receive regular funding from the State either from the HEW funds or Department of Labor funds for the purposes of:

a. providing annual training for public agency personnel and
b. translating information about jobs, health, or housing services, educational needs to the Samoan Community.

It is further recommended that the American Samoan Government make a contract with OSA for a liaison staff member to handle some of the necessary interactions between Samoa and the United States.

Verbal acceptance of this idea has been made by both Governor Coleman and Lt. Governor Tufele in 1978 but to date nothing concrete has been established. The Fono must accept responsibility for their migrating population.

The current OSA is only able to function because of few small local grants (California Adult Education, Mental Health Training

Aides and Department of Labor survey). They can become more effective if they have a task funded by each of the major state agencies. (Health, Education, Social Services and Housing, Labor, Law Enforcement, etc.) The Region IX HEW Director was interested in such a proposal at one time but local circumstances seemed to prevent implementation. It is therefore recommended that a Region IX funding for technical assistance to the Samoan Community be made a permanent part of the Regional structure.

4. The concept of "mental health" must be brought to the Samoan vocabulary to help in coping with all the other accoutrements of Western civilization.

Alcohol abuse, child abuse, drug traffic, all are symptoms of unbearable changes in life situations and the American Samoan Government needs a program to develop awareness of these issues and then give consideration to the problems themselves.

Problems of accumulation are considerable for every culture. Add to the shock the internal changes most cultures are experiencing in the 20th Century World and there is the basis for serious family breakdown and personal instability. This combination has already had its effect on the crime rate, in alcohol and child abuse and suicide.

FUTURE

It is recommended that the American Samoan Government undertake an extensive educational program to help people recognize problems they will encounter in migration situations and acknowledge that people need help in preparation for living in a different environment. In cooperation with the churches, it might be possible to organize study groups that will deal with rather than deny the problem caused by migration to the United States.

It is further recommended that the state governments offer to private industry and business, financial incentives to provide counseling services for new migrant employees.

The public health and hospital clinics must give priority to a study and in-service training program for health professionals in order to understand the communication problems and the cultural aspects of dealing with Samoan culture.

5. Communications of all sorts are essential to our way of life. In concert with the Office of Samoan Affairs, a team of translators needs to be available to both the public and private sector to be sure that critical information reaches the non-English speaker. Information about the U.S. Census, Salk Vaccine distribution, innoculations, and governmental messages must be transmitted. Private industry is interested in getting messages across about their products. A partnership is recommended that would fund such a team on an as needed basis.

FUTURE

Although the public opinion poll in San Francisco recently voted against the idea of bilingual ballots, the fact remains that now some English speakers will not acquire a thorough working knowledge of the language but can become productive, healthy and happy citizens if they can receive certain critical information. For example, the recent census will still not give a totally accurate picture because so many people could not comprehend the language and complexity of the forms.

It is recommended that state and local governments using Samoan translators review all public information and establish a permanent system for all new public information. The dissemination of these materials can include TV and radio as well as newspapers, churches, schools and local organizations. The best center for such disbursement would be an organization like OSA that has centers in each major city.

6. Research must be expanded by and with Samoans to encourage in depth analysis of the many complex and frightening issues emerging as a result of current pressures on the culture.

FUTURE

That the American Samoan Government in conjunction with state governments establish a set of research questions that would assist all governments and agencies in their work with Samoan people.

Some issues this report would recommend for study are:

- an examination of the conditions that encourage pro-social behavior for Samoans.

- opportunity to explore what are the conditions, actions, attitudes that would enable individuals to gain greater control of themselves -- a Samoan concept of "locus of control" to believe that one can control one's life and that what one does has an effect on what happens.

- examination as to what extent alcohol abuse is a function of change in life situations. Would beverage control laws affect prevalence of alcohol abuse?

- that the findings and recommendations of such a study be shared with human service providers in other states and a coalition of Samoan organizations undertake an information dissemination plan to reach the extended Samoan community.

7. Parent education and Community involvement through the use of paid aides can do a great deal to assist the acclaimation process. Only through the network of bilingual assistance

will Samoans be reached. With the help of the American Samoan Government and with incentives to private business and industry, bilingual counselors must be made available to those who seek public assistance as well as those who begin work.

Local school districts, local public health and social service offices need to be encouraged to make home visits with a bilingual aide. Also as an outgrowth of these contacts and in conjunction with the ministers and the Churches, parent programs might be established for the purpose of focusing on issues related to helping their children in adjusting to school. Hawaii has introduced presentations on general health care, nutrition, budgeting, understanding laws and other aspects of consumer education in parent programs. Involving the parents of all children would be of significant help in this transition period.

8. Family planning is an issue whose time must now come to Samoa. No longer can Samoans ignore the world problems of overpopulation.

Family planning has long been a taboo topic in Samoa in large part due to religious teachings. As the economy has changed from crops to cash, it becomes harder to feed a large family and even more difficult when the family adopts an urban home.

The World Health Organization has done a superior job in other countries of the

world and it would be appropriate at this time for the American Samoan Government to invite them into Samoa to meet with the churches and traditional leadership to begin to formulate recommendations and an educational plan for the people of Samoa. The problems of overpopulation should be an important territorial consideration since U.S. funds and food supply cannot continue to be provided in an unlimited quantity as in the past.

As Samoa moves toward independence, this issue becomes even more critical. Families in transition have learned the hard way that income and housing are not sufficient in an urban culture to enable them to adequately provide for their children. The burden for this change must be on Samoa as it represents the heart of the culture.

And finally recognizing that all the ills and stresses of a society are not going to be identified or solved in a report such as this, it is incumbent upon us to recognize and encourage the strength and caring in the Samoan culture while continuing to evaluate which aspects need change and updating in order to help Samoans better acclimate to their new environment.

FUTURE

The committee that contributed to this report realized they would produce some descriptions of transition experience that would be upsetting. They also realized not all members would agree with conclusions and recommendations at the finish. One fact, however, all were in agreement with, was that some actions would occur to deal with the major issues that were identified. It was the expectation that the effort that went into this report would make a difference.

The problems requiring action fell into three categories:

A. Problems individuals must take action on for themselves - for example, preparing oneself with a job skill and positive attitude toward work prior to leaving Samoa.

B. Problems the American Samoan Government can best deal with -- for example, giving priority opportunity for adequate English language training and development of a marketable skill before leaving and then working on their own economic and population problems.

C. Problems the State and Local governments and private agencies, business and industry must assume by enforcing affirmative action policies, providing financial incentives for training, hiring and counseling newcomers such as has been done with Vietnamese and Cuban refugees. The Office of Samoan Affairs in California and Hawaii

FUTURE

have a major role to play assisting in the adjustment process and must receive allocations from new funding sources to enable them to provide adequate support to agencies and business as well as to the families themselves.

In order to "make a difference," the committee and others will undertake to disseminate this report to the governments and agencies that cooperated with the project. It is anticipated Samoan churches and organizations will use this report for public forum and the data will be convincing enough to begin to bring about changes in behavior and perhaps attitudes and maybe even in procedures that will help future families in transition.

Tofa Soifua

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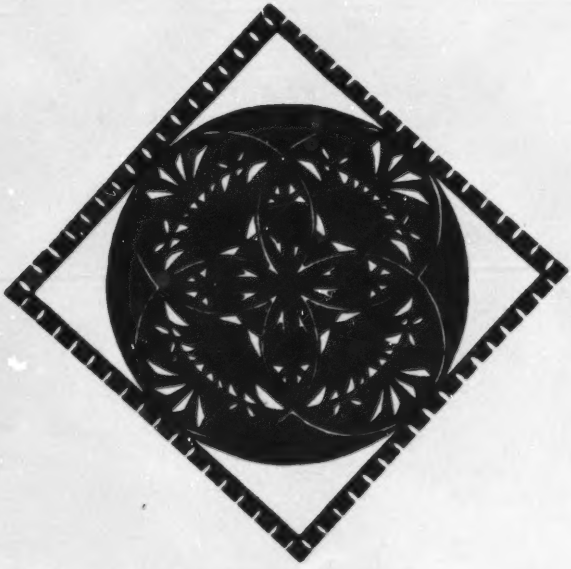
The books and periodicals included here in this final report represent about one quarter of the materials reviewed during this period of research. These were selected as representative of the most interesting and relevant materials.

There is an incredible amount written about Samoa and Samoans. It is time now that people like Albert Wendt and other Samoans begin to write their point of view.

The Author



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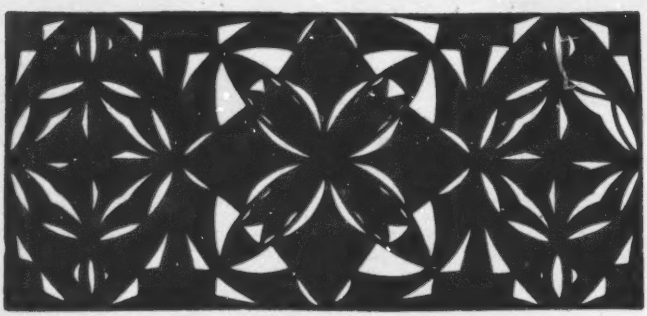
For more information about the research on health contact Dr. Paul T. Baker, Department of Anthropology, 511 Social Science Building The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802



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